THE SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF THE IMPRISONMENT-OFFENDING CYCLE IN NEW ZEALAND; AND MEANS OF INTERVENTION INTO THE CYCLE

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE
OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN SOCIOLOGY
AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

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UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY
1991

ABSTRACT

Persistent offenders have been a feature of the criminal justice system in New Zealand, at least during the period between 1923 and 1985, and these persistent offenders have been part of an underclass excluded from or marginal to participation in paid work and the dominant consumption patterns of society. Persistent offenders have also subscribed to a predatory moral and normative order. This thesis sets out to explain the existence of the predatory underclass, its value system and the prospects for its integration within the mainstream of society.

A theory of social regulation is developed which proceeds through a critique of the works of Durkheim and Merton. The theory draws a distinction between primary and secondary levels of regulation, and relies upon the work of the 'regulation school' developed in France. The theory postulates that the offending of persistent offenders is the product of two social mechanisms, the exclusion tendency and the predatory potential of society. The exclusion tendency is the product of the way in which production and consumption are socially organised in capitalist societies. Production and consumption are linked through participation in paid work. The predatory potential on the other hand is a reflection of the extent to which persons are able to engage in the consumption norms of society without making a legitimate contribution to the consumption needs of society.

Primary and secondary regulatory forces are analysed from 1923 to 1985 in order to specify the way in which the exclusion tendency and the predatory potential have interacted. Major changes in the way in which the two

mechanisms have interacted are noted. Patterns of persistent offending are then analysed in the light of this analysis and the nature of persistent offending in two periods is contrasted to make clear the specific nature of the problem of persistent offending in the period from 1970 to 1985. The study stops at 1985 in view of the changes to the criminal justice system and the basis upon which persons would be sentenced to imprisonment. It is too soon to be able to specify whether the change in the legislation has altered the way in which imprisonment is being used and its impact upon persistent offending.

The analysis provides an understanding of the changing nature of persistent offending and concludes that the problem of reintegrating persistent offenders into the mainstream of New Zealand society is unlikely unless the basis of the contribution and rewards system is reconstructed on a basis which is regarded as fair and reasonable by the persistent offenders themselves. At this time there is no evidence that they would regard the system as its exists or is likely to develop into, as fair and just.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge those who contributed to the research process undertaken for this thesis. Firstly, I wish to thank the University Grants Committee which provided me with a postgraduate scholarship for three years. Secondly, I wish to thank the Department of Sociology at the University of Canterbury for the support and encouragement received throughout my time as a postgraduate student undertaking this research. I am indebted to the Department for the opportunity to be involved in the teaching programme which supplemented my income. I also acknowledge the help and support of the Sociology Department of Massey University particularly Professor Graeme Fraser and Dr. Chris Wilkes who helped me re-establish my life and the life of my family both during and after my imprisonment experience.

I am especially grateful for the assistance received from my supervisors David Thorns and Charles Sedgwick both of whom read and commented on many drafts of the text.

I received a great deal of help from discussions with other postgraduate students and in particular acknowledge that a great deal was gained from my discussions and debates with Ann Dupuis.

The analysis of the transition in the regime of capital accumulation between 1923 and 1970 is dependent upon Geof Pearce's work on factory production data. I am indebted to Geof for this part of the thesis and his advice and help have been invaluable throughout the course of this research project.

I have learned much from those involved in the Prisoners' Aid and Rehabilitation movement and the Salisbury Street Foundation, even although I have often been critical of

the course of direction taken from time to time. In particular I acknowledge the advice and assistance received from Kevin Butson who like me is now involved in the reconstruction of the social conditions in which the marginal outcasts live in our society. I also acknowledge the material garnered from those who have been imbedded in the imprisonment-offending cycle, many of whom will remain in the cycle for the whole of their lives.

My thanks are due to my son Bruce who has helped me with the editing of the text and who has mastered the intricacies of the computer programme. I also thank my wife Claire for her encouragement and support, her willingness to accept our marginal social situation, and in being able to make do on the small income of the past few years.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

a. The Beginning

I approach the introduction to this PhD project with feelings of trepidation and awe. It forces me to face once again my imprisonment experience, the reasons why I think this research is important and how it may throw some light on the nature of the imprisonment-offending cycle. It is like approaching a cave which draws me on in fascination and horror. It is also as if there are sacred and powerful memories locked away that should not be disturbed. The cavern draws me on like a magnet whose power is impossible to resist, but my reservations and fears of the pain that lies buried and slumbering may cause me to abandon the project of personalising this introduction to the research. If I fail to do this, however, the research might lose much of its rationale.

As I begin to unfold the events surrounding the 5th of November 1979 I am seized with a freezing of my feelings, the same emotional state which characterised that morning. This was the day I appeared in court and was remanded in custody, and which meant I was to remain in a custodial state for the next four years. On that morning I was like a wild animal whose energies are all pivoted on a small point - acutely aware, but not comprehending the whole scene. This means that my memory of that day are faulty, and I can only record impressions of events and feelings.

My case was called at about 11-30 a.m. and I went into the dock. My lawyer announced that the charges would

be taken as read, that I pleaded guilty and accepted the jurisdiction of the Magistrate's Court. The prosecuting police officer then read out the details of the offences. There were some inaccuracies, but the whole picture was complex and must have been confusing for the police. It was futile to quibble over details, and I was unable to be anything more than the object of the occasion. The occasion was both real and unreal, and I was both participant and observer, unable to do anything which might influence the course of events. The time had been reached where powerful forces had taken over and were carrying me along with them. I had expected that the Magistrate would decline jurisdiction and remand me to the Supreme Court for sentence. I expected to be granted bail - of this I was quite confident. However, this was not to be and I was remanded in custody. This shock was like being struck by a bullet. I was numbed by this, and my inner feelings were jammed. It was rather like a computer which locks up when the programme misfires. There is a great deal of data in the computer, but it is inaccessible. In the same way my emotions and feelings were scrambled but inoperable.

Upon being remanded in custody I was led away by the police who requested my belt and watch and other items of value that I had with me. There must have been an exchange of signatures and so on but I cannot recall this and I was led away to the police cells. There were a number of others in the police cells, all young and all defiant. There was an enormous gap between me and the other occupants of the cell. They were defiant and I was shattered and broken. I remember one encouraging remark during that time when one fellow said he would rather be a criminal than a cop. From the time of my remand and even until this time my relationship and attitudes to the rest of society changed as I was now an outcast and an outsider. I felt the full force of the state pinning me

down, but lacked the strength to be defiant in the way my companions were.

b. <u>The Remand Experience</u>

In the latter part of the afternoon we were escorted to a police van at the back of the police station and driven to the Manawatu prison which is about eight miles south of Palmerston North. The experiences in the morning had produced a state of shock which I had hardly recovered from and was not prepared for the experience of being received into the prison as a remand prisoner. I cannot recall the events in detail and can only express my shock about what happened, and although we were not beaten or ill-treated in any physical sense, we were strip searched.

This was a procedure which involved the prisoner removing every item of clothing while prison officers searched them and the body for contraband. The search of the body involved the 'screws' peering into every crevice and orifice of the body. The body search occurred on only this one occasion, but I was strip searched on a number of occasions. I was outraged by these actions, but my outrage was a cold fury and I would have gladly killed the prison officer who invaded me in this way. This atrocity implanted in me a firm and irreversible hatred of the prison officer concerned. Later I met prison officers who were quite decent, but I have never been able to bring myself to like them. These feelings after ten years are now less vehement.

After passing through the 'Receiving Office' I was escorted to cell number seven in the remand wing where I was to remain for more than three weeks. The slamming shut of the door behind me was final, but I was to become used to this. The first time this happened left me with

a feeling of abandonment, and in no doubt that I was being punished. My feelings of abandonment were associated with the realisation of banishment and confinement. I was a body with an imagination, with consciousness, but unable to act except within my own imagination. This was heightened when the evening meal was brought. Prisoners contributed nothing more to the meal than receive it from the prison officer and to eating it in the solitude of the cell.

I reflected upon the events of the day in the cell, first the appearance in court where I occupied a central place, and then banishment to the solitude of the cell. The contrast was remarkable. The appearance in court was like being captured by a bright light, whereas being in the cell was as if the light had been removed and I was captured by darkness. I was in the remand wing at Manawatu from the 5th of November 1979 to the 28th of November 1979 (the day of the Erebus crash[1]). I was sentenced to six years imprisonment on the 23rd of November 1979 and on the 28th of November 1979 I was transferred to Wi Tako prison near Trentham.

The remand experience was a very trying time and I was numb by the time I arrived at Wi Tako. The day I arrived at Wi Tako was the day of the Erebus air crash, but I could feel nothing for the victims or their friends and relatives.

c. <u>Wi Tako Prison</u>

I arrived at Wi Tako on the afternoon of the 28th of November 1979, and immediately upon arrival was taken to the receiving office. When I arrived the work parties were returning to the prison, people were playing tennis, some were playing handball and others were running around the perimeter of the quadrangle. The busyness and

activity confused and excited me because of the remarkable contrast with Manawatu which had been regimented and controlled, and where one could not move without being escorted. By contrast Wi Tako was confusing and frenetic, and I was impressed and over-awed by the activity of the place. After passing through the receiving office, where there was no strip search or any such thing, I was given my prison kit and then escorted to the kit locker to be issued with bedding. The prisoners working in the kit locker were very helpful and friendly. They sensed my confusion and were sensitive to my disorientation as they had experienced much the same thing upon their arrival. I was then taken to my cell - number 84 in wing 4. That evening I attended a slide show, and I remember how everybody was friendly and there was a jovial and convivial atmosphere. I felt quite comfortable in this environment. We were locked in at 9.30 pm, and it was then when I switched on my radio that I learned of the Erebus crash. It was not possible to feel anything.

I discovered that many of the prisoners were aware of my arrival, and many had read of my case in the paper. I was surprised and disconcerted that I was regarded with some awe, both because of my offences, which had involved large sums of money, and because of my relatively long prison sentence of six years. It was assumed by all the prisoners that I had managed to 'stash' large sums of money for my release, and I was admired for this. Although I found this disconcerting I did not explain that I had made nothing out of the deal. They would not have believed me, and if they did believe me would have regarded me as a mug. It was easier to play along with their interpretation of the situation.

During the next four years I got to know many of the prisoners well and formed friendships with some, and have seen a few upon my release. There was, however, a

considerable gulf between me and the majority of the other prisoners. Upon my arrival at Wi Tako, and throughout the whole time I was there, I was struck by the attitudes, beliefs and the general outlook and lifestyle of the other prisoners. They were young, and many of them were Maori, although this ethnic identity seemed less important in terms of the aspirations and desires of these persons.

In the isolation of legal practice and 'middle class' lifestyle a new generation of persons had come into existence of which I was totally unaware. This was one of the major shocks of the whole imprisonment experience, and caused me to wonder what had happened in New Zealand in the ensuing twenty years or so between when I grew up and when I ended up in prison. I had grown up in a working class family in Wanganui, a small provincial city, and I did not recognise in prison the young men with whom I had grown up.

Although I had come from a working class background, I had received a university education and joined the legal profession. In the legal profession I had enjoyed substantial social mobility and by age 25 had an income which today would have been in the vicinity of $120,000 per year. Later I moved into the business world and attempted to secure a substantial investment in the transport, contracting, motor vehicle dealership and farming sectors. My activities were aimed at securing control over productive resources. The question of consumption was less significant as a goal in itself, as a relatively high standard of consumption was possible. We lived in an elegant suburban house set in a landscaped section, and I had a new car every year as a result of the control of a vehicle dealership. Our children were well placed in their schools and were prominent in their scholastic and sporting achievements. My offending meant that much of this was lost, and this also involved a loss

of status, position and social recognition. It was clear to me that much of what I had lost was what my companions in prison aspired to, but their emphasis was upon consumption rather than acquiring productive resources. They admired me for what I had done, not appreciating that most had been lost. It was clear to me that they would never have the capacity to consume at the standard they desired.

As a legal practitioner I had read probation officers' reports on offenders, but (in prison) could find no evidence of poor self-image and other cliches which litter probation reports, and which might explain the plight of the prisoners. My contact with offenders prior to my imprisonment was as a professional, and in the changed situation, I was impressed with the fact that as a professional I had no real understanding of the lives, the concerns and the desires of the persons I was dealing with as a professional. Instead I found a group of young men I describe as 'Joe Swingers' who aspired to a swinging lifestyle, who had a wide experience in the use of illicit drugs, who did not respect authority, who would not hesitate to 'rip somebody off' and who regarded the victim as at fault for being a mug and letting it happen. Nevertheless, these persons had a commitment to a sense of right and wrong which was both contradictory and confusing. I realised that many would be condemned to a life of offending and imprisonment because they were committed to the swinging lifestyle, but they lacked the capacities and the means to engage in this lifestyle. I set myself the task of trying to understand what it is about our society that has created this situation.

d. <u>The Dynamics of the Imprisonment Relation</u>

One of the central features of the remand experience was to be subject to the 'gaze' and surveillance of the prison staff. The cells have a small window which the

'screws' gaze through from time to time to keep the occupants under observation and surveillance. The reactions and activities of the occupants are noted and recorded. There are barriers to physical movement and an emphasis upon confinement which leads to the prisoners experiencing themselves as an object, as a thing to be restrained. This experience of the body as object is reemphasised by other processes such as being locked in isolation for lengthy periods of time, which in turn leads to an acute sense of time and how nightmarish human existence in time can be (Foucault, 1978).

The remand experience also introduced me to being defined as bad and evil and in need of punishment. The ordered nature of the timetable and the organisation of tasks so that the whole place is totally controlled emphasises again the body as object. The clear and unmistakable message is that society's wrath is centred on the body, which can be made to seem like an alien being. One can experience the body as 'other'. There is, however, a vestige of the self which is not reached by these forces.

It is around these forces of punishment that resistance activities are organised and coordinated by the prisoners. This resistance demands a contribution from the prisoners which denies or reduces the signification of bad and evil and which seeks to maintain the individual integrity of the prisoners. This involves an alternative discourse of the nature of the social world and what is good and bad. The resistance strategies also requires prisoners to adopt a lifestyle called 'staunchness' which they contribute to in the life of the prison, and from which prisoners can heal their shattered lives. This healing is consistent with and prepares one for life as an outsider, an outsider from the mainstream of social life. These strategies undermine and reduce the impact of the punishing regime. They play an important part in regulating the activities of prisoners

and in defining the balance in the social relations between the 'screws' and the prisoners, which are relatively stable over long periods of time. Prisoners are required to contribute to the 'staunchness' of the prisoners' social system and in return they can secure the social means to survive the experience of imprisonment. I was to find this out in due course and this involved getting to understand the dynamics of the prison situation. It also meant becoming part of the culture of the prisoners and making the necessary contribution. Those prisoners who do not, or who are not permitted to make a contribution to the staunchness of the prison have a miserable time in prison.[2]

It was the 'staunchness' between and among prisoners which played an important part in healing my jammed emotions and feelings which arose out of the initial experience of imprisonment. This 'staunchness' also impressed upon me the identity of interest between me as a prisoner and the other prisoners. It reinforced the realisation of the gap between us and the remainder of society. We were a brotherhood of outsiders. However, I do not want to glamorise this brotherhood which had its own tensions, stresses, and which at times was far from united and cohesive. The brotherhood was often threatened from within by exploitation of the weak by the strong, but nonetheless had its own ways of dealing with this exploitation.

e. Release

Since my release it has been a major struggle for my wife and me. We have a modest home and car, but we have no debts. We enjoy very limited status, and play a restricted role in community and social life. I have no secure long-term employment prospects at the time of writing. However, there is no question of re-offending, and I seldom see a policemen from one week's end to the

next. By contrast many persons who have been to prison become enmeshed in the cycle of offending and imprisonment. Whereas I have stepped back into a set of social relations, albeit at a more lowly place, the majority of my companions from prison return to a different set of social relations in which they are impeded from participation in the lifestyle they desire. They are outside the mainstream of social relations, and locked into a predatory way of life, as we will see shortly.

The problem to be explained is "what accounts for this perpetual cycle of offending and imprisonment?" Why is it that some who offend become enmeshed in this cycle, whereas others do not? This will be referred to as the problem of persistent offending.

Since my release I have been involved with the Salisbury Street Foundation, a prisoner rehabilitation programme, and have witnessed at first hand the cycle of imprisonment and offending. On the one hand the Salisbury Street Foundation tries earnestly to provide a programme which will make possible life outside the cycle of offending and imprisonment, but many of the residents do not take seriously the opportunities offered by the programme or they regard the programme as irrelevant to their situation. I have noticed how much of the confidence and bravado of the prison evaporates in the face of having to 'make it' on the outside, and how many reverted to petty theft, drug dealing and life on the dole in an effort to live something resembling the swinging lifestyle. Very often this involved a sordid, shabby lifestyle which was often mean and destructive and many have found their way back into prison. There just seems no place for these people in the mainstream of social life. Many have no skills and are reluctant to work in "boring" jobs offering low pay. They prefer to take their chances with the criminal justice system. I

admire on the one hand their clinging to notions of autonomy and independence, but cannot accept the social havoc this causes them and the wider community. I wonder on occasion if their social exclusion could be linked to my own milder version of exclusion in some form of collective struggle which might enhance our collective social powers.

The whole practice of social control in general and criminal control in particular is based upon a case method, which treats offending as an individual pathology and attempts to resocialise the offender. The aim is to integrate offenders into the mainstream of society by training them to fit into society. It is assumed under this model that integration is simply a matter of training and education. It is this assumption which will be challenged in this research.

There is no attempt under this case method model of integration to develop any theoretical understanding of the social forces involved. The approach is prefaced upon the notion that offenders must acknowledge their failings and weaknesses, and at this point the therapy might make it possible to mould the offender to fit into society. Within the Salisbury Street Foundation programme I often heard the phrase that "such and such a person would not change until they acknowledged their criminal personality". Within the Foundation this approach was gradually discredited and now the emphasis is upon what is called 'encounter recreation' which is designed to raise the self-esteem of the persons involved and lead to behaviour change. There is no evidence that this latest 'fad' is any more successful than its predecessors in bringing about behaviour change.[3]

I feel pessimistic about the fate of persistent offenders and there are times when I am prepared to accept that nothing works, if the problem is understood simply in

terms of behaviour change. Perhaps on the other hand the problem is not properly understood within the 'correctional' criminology paradigm. It might be that a different theoretical approach might yield a new and different understanding, which could be the basis of a new set of strategies enabling persistent offenders to achieve their aspiration and desires without resorting to the illicit trading in drugs or the theft and recycling of stolen property. Such an approach must, however, be based upon a rigorous understanding of what generates offending, and what impedes the realisation of desires and aspirations which are widely shared throughout New Zealand society.

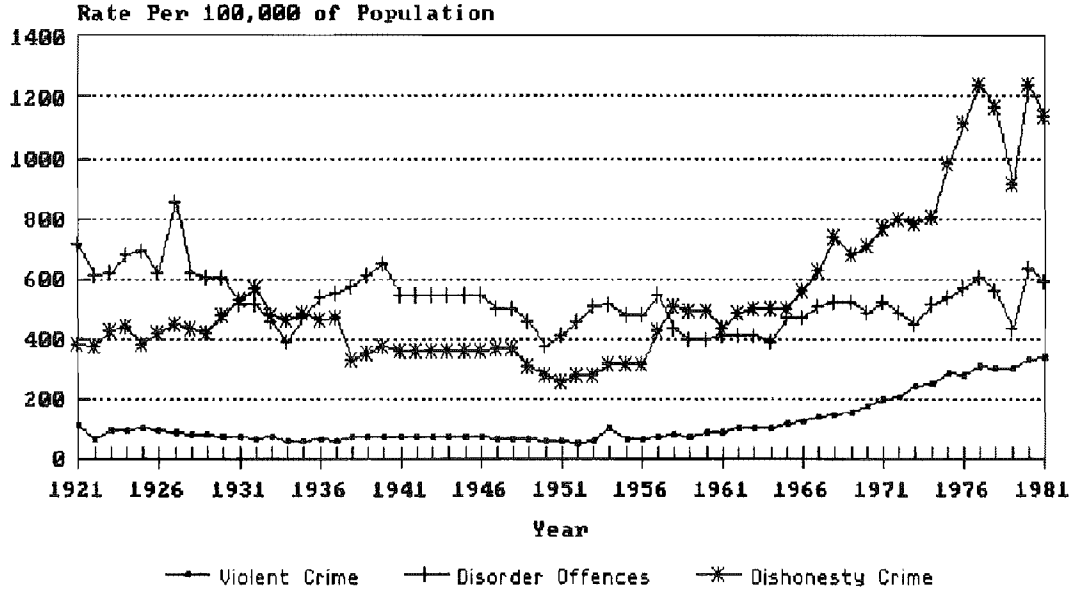
As a prelude to attempting to develop an alternative understanding of why some persons become enmeshed in a cycle of offending and imprisonment, we will look first at the patterns of offending and imprisonment from the 1920s and 1930s up until the current period. By the current period we mean from 1970 until the mid-1980s. In order to study the pattern during the current period, we will set out ten vignettes of offenders as a means of introducing the nature of current offending and imprisonment, and we will then consider a census of offenders conducted by the Justice Department in November 1987. The striking feature of this analysis is that it shows how the relationship between offending and imprisonment has changed significantly over the period we are considering.

2. Patterns of Offending Between 1920 and 1970

In the 1920s and 1930s the cycle of offending and imprisonment was dominated by disorder offending (see Figure 1.1) which involved an interaction of the police and an itinerant group of labouring men who moved about the country in search of work. The offending group lived

squalid and mean lives, and impoverishment was a common feature. The bulk of these offenders were over 35 years of age. Dishonesty offending became more important in this period and the age distribution was more even than in the case of disorder offending. In 1930 a Commission was set up to inquire into the condition of returned soldiers from the 1914-18 war and then reported to the House of Representatives (AJHR 1930)[4].

Figure 1.1 Offending Rates for Violent Crime, Disorder Offences and Dishonesty Crime, 1921 to 1981



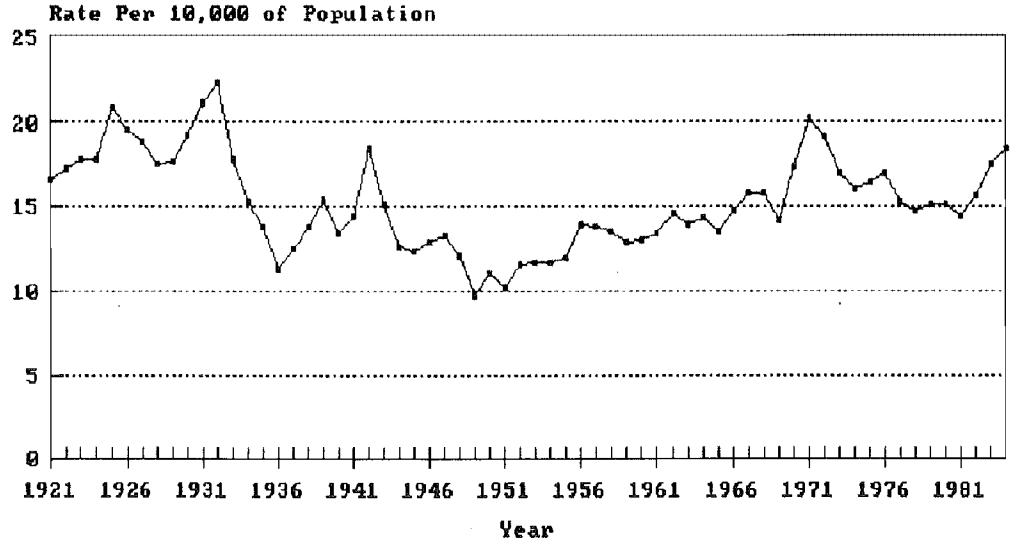
Source: Department Of Justice Statistics, 1921 to 1981

Many of these men formed part of the offending group, which we deduce from the emphasis placed upon the evidence given by Probation Officers to the Commission, and they lived in a poverty-stricken state.

Their plight was so serious that the Commission was charged with the responsibility of seeing if anything could be done to relieve their distress. The Commission found that many of the men had volunteered for military service when quite young and before they had been

incorporated into the labour force. As they had no work skills they lived footloose lives upon their return from the war. The contraction in the labour force and changes in the nature of the labour process were responsible for the precarious existence of these men. In this period of the 1920s and 1930s, they were excluded from participation in waged work and did not form part of the mainstream of social relations. In the 1920s and 1930s

Figure 1.2 Imprisonment Rates for all Offences, 1921 to 1984



Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1921 to 1981

consumption was limited to the bare necessities and many of the returned soldiers barely had this level of consumption. Their conditions of existence were dreadful, and there was no unemployment benefit or welfare to relieve their plight.

Since the 1930s imprisonment has been used less for disorder offences, although the incidence of disorder offending has remained at about the same levels as in the 1920s and 1930s. The trend after the early 1930s was for the rate of prisoners received into prison to drop until the time of the war, at which time it increased. The rate then dropped after the war until the early 1950s when it started to rise again. The incidence of offending from the mid-fifties increased dramatically, but the rate of imprisonment did not increase at the same rate as offending levels, as a whole series of new and alternative sanctions were introduced. We do not intend discussing the expanded range of sanctions which has been well documented by Webb (Webb, 1981).

The pattern of offending and imprisonment was largely unchanged during the period from 1945 to 1955, although dishonesty offending had clearly supplanted disorder as the main category contributing to the penal population. In this period violent crime made only a small impact upon the penal population, with drugs offending being almost non-existent. In this period the trend is for dishonesty offending to remain relatively stable or to fall. The miscellaneous category which included family maintenance and ship desertion cases were a significant factor in the cycle of offending and imprisonment. However, from this time onwards the trend is for these categories to make less and less impact upon the imprisonment system.

From Figure 1.1 we can see that from 1955 the rate of dishonesty and violent offending increased significantly, but the relationship between the incidence of offending and imprisonment fell as new and expanded types of sanctions became available to the courts. Throughout the period from 1955 to 1970 the incidence of disorder offenders in prison fell, and imprisonment was reserved for only a small number of older male disorder offenders

(see Figure 1.2). In this period one of the most striking features is the gradual lowering of the ages of those sentenced to imprisonment, and persons under 25 years of age become the significant segment of the penal population.

Another striking feature of this period between 1955 and 1970 is the almost total absence of drug offending and in the relatively small number of drug offenders in the courts. The elite ranks of the penal population were safe blowers and burglars. This is reflected in the substantial increase in the imprisonment rate for dishonesty offending for males under 25 years of age. The rate per 10,000 of males between 15 and 25 years increases from slightly less than 20 to slightly more than 60 - a 200% increase. It is also possible to discern in this period a steady increase in violent offending where the major increase is in offenders who are males and under 25 years of age. In the case of serious violence the rate of males under 25 years of age increases from less than 1 per 10,000 males to slightly less than 6 in 1970.

The rates of all categories of offending except disorder increased dramatically after 1970, with many of the features that become more apparent in the period between 1970 and 1985 start to emerge. We refer specifically to the importance of dishonesty offending and the increase in violence, which involves males who are much younger than was the case of the period of the 1920s and 1930s and even during the 1945 to 1955 period.

There are a number of features which apply to all periods and some features which are specific to each period. The first universal feature is that the bulk of the offenders are drawn from a group who do not contribute to social needs, but who obtain their means of existence through predatory activities. They form what we call a predatory

under-class who do not participate regularly in waged work, but who supplement or satisfy their consumption needs illicitly. The second universal feature is that the offenders subscribe to a predatory value system. The predatory under-class and its value system are both social in nature. One refers to broad social structural questions, while the other to the norms and values which regulate social activities.

3. The Current Period of Offending and Imprisonment

The current period is defined as the period between 1970 and 1985. This period is introduced by means of ten vignettes which profile the lives of ten offenders. These vignettes are not presented as a means of establishing empirical regularities, but for their value in pointing to some features of the predatory under-class, the attitudes and beliefs which accompany offending, and the pattern of offending in the current period.[5]

In these profiles the concrete events of peoples' lives are being described in order to look at the way in which they fitted into the social environment. The vignettes are designed to deepen our understanding of the problem of why some become tied up in a cycle of offending and imprisonment. In Chapter Seven we will use the vignettes as we analyse the imprisonment-offending cycle in the current period.

should I use vignettes in my study?

a. Larry, born 1952

Larry was part-Maori, and in his early life was brought up by his grandmother who lived a traditional Maori lifestyle. His parents had separated not long after they moved from the country into the town around 1955. His

mother later remarried, probably about 1959 or 1960, and Larry went to live with his mother and step-father in the town. Larry did not adjust to the new environment and did not accept his step-father. His recollection is that his step-father always seemed to block him doing anything he wanted to do.

When he was about 9 years old he was placed in a home in Dunedin. On one occasion he had done something wrong and when he was having a bath one of the supervisors came into the bathroom and beat him with a leather strap while he was in the bath. The next day he stayed outside late working in the garden until well after everybody else went inside. He then went into a room which must have been something like a basement and set fire to the place as an act of revenge for the beating he had received the previous day.

Since this time he has lived more or less continuously in institutions of one sort or another. These institutions always seemed to Larry to impose a regime of control and restraint which he resisted. Larry never felt that he was part of the things the groups he was in were doing. He was always forced into doing things against his will although he tried to resist and to manipulate situations to get some control over the forces around him. He was ruthless and pragmatic about trying to get his own way. Over the years he has been in penal institutions he has taken part in therapy groups. In these situations he developed a perceptive understanding of group dynamics and how to manipulate situations.

In 1976, on his release from prison on a burglary charge he started selling 'New Zealand green'.[6] He had been doing this for about eight weeks when he realised that the gains were relatively small. He knew he could make more money dealing in heroin, but he did not have the money to purchase the heroin and set up business in this

drug. Larry believed that he needed about $25,000 to finance a heroin dealing operation and in order to get started he had to have the money 'up-front'. He said he felt a real urgency about making money which was needed to finance the sort of lifestyle that his early life and its disadvantages had denied him. He aspired to be a 'swinger', and was contemptuous of his relations who were respectable hard-working people. In Larry's eyes they were mugs, even if decent and respectable. He said he would rather take the chance of prison than live as a 'Joe Lunch Box'.[7] Being a swinger meant for Larry to have plenty of money, a car and a house and being admired for being independent. It also meant eating out in restaurants and being sought after and admired by women. The only people Larry knew who fitted this stereotype were criminals in the drug world.

In order to get involved in heroin dealing he planned to rob a TAB. He chose an accomplice to assist and the robbery was carried out. However, the accomplice 'narked' to the police under questioning and Larry was arrested and imprisoned. Larry was furious with his 'mate' and he planned to escape and 'waste' the accomplice. During the escape attempt some of the prison officers were assaulted and it ended in a failure.

In early 1985 Larry had been released from prison after a nine and a half year prison sentence for aggravated assault and armed robbery. Since the compilation of this vignette he has been sentenced to imprisonment for armed robbery of a service station. Larry identifies himself as a criminal, and he would not shrink from crimes of violence to achieve his ends. However, his willingness to resort to violence is pragmatic insofar as it would help him achieve his criminal objectives. In other words the use of violence is not an end in itself.

Larry never developed a commitment to any social group he was part of, and has never had any sense of collective participation. He resisted the forces around him from an early period and developed a defiant and individualist approach to life. From an early period in his life Larry was subjected to the control and regulation of social control agencies, and this in his case has only strengthened his resolve to resist. He adopted the strategies of 'Joe Swinger' and regarded his law abiding relatives as 'mugs'.

Larry recognised that integration into society involved commitment to regular work, and it was this feature of social regulation which he rejected. The emergence of the drug economy, and the forces which generated the attitudes and beliefs of 'Joe Swinger' are issues that require explanation in Larry's case. Another feature which requires explanation is that where integration into a family is disrupted, why does this often lead to the intervention of social control agencies and a pattern of defiance and offending? The question here is directed to the social organisation of households and the relationship to other aspects of social organisation. This is a theme which occurs in a number of the vignettes.

b. Kevin, born 1963

In 1985 when the vignette was completed Kevin was 22 years old and had served five prison terms, his last offence involving the possession of and presenting an offensive weapon, a sawn-off shot-gun. In his words he was planning to 'waste' somebody who had ripped him off in a drug deal.

Kevin's father was a freezing worker who died when Kevin was about 12 years old. The father had taught his five sons (Kevin was the fourth) how to survive in the bush.

The family spent much of their leisure time in the bush pig hunting, 'possum trapping and deer stalking and as part of this training the family was able to live off the land. After Kevin's father died the family seldom, if ever, went hunting again as a family although individual family members would go hunting by themselves or in pairs.

After his father's death Kevin's mother moved to another district. Kevin got a job in a sawmill and was the main provider for the family as his older brothers had remained in the 'home town'. About three years after moving to the new area Kevin's mother remarried and Kevin ceased to be the main provider for the family. Kevin was in conflict with his step-father from the outset and resented his presence in the family. Kevin left home after a bitter argument with his step father, during which he had threatened to kill his step-father with an axe.

Kevin went back to the district where he had been brought up, but the main industry which employed the bulk of the local population, and where Kevin expected to obtain work, closed down shortly after he returned. He spent the next twelve months in the bush living off the land, growing dope and 'possum hunting. He had a rifle which he used to obtain meat, and lived in a cave which he rigged up quite comfortably. He had his own supply of cannabis and his brother would come and pick up the possum skins every now and then.

After twelve months of this life he went back to his home town, and teamed up with his brother who was selling cannabis in a small way. As a result of this association he learned about trading in the drug world and built up some contacts. From this time until the time of the interview, apart from when he had been in prison, he had lived on the fringes of the 'underground economy'. He

was quite proud of never having been on the dole, although he had not worked for ages in a regular job.

His offences have been relatively minor - car conversion, theft and carrying offensive weapons which he says he carries for protection. He says that the possession of a weapon is needed to sometimes settle dealing arguments, or as protection from being ripped off.

One of the crucial events in Kevin's life was the closure of the main industry in the town where he had grown up, and where he expected to obtain employment after the argument with his step-father. The closure of this industry has to be understood in terms of the changes in the economy which in turn affected the availability of waged work. The closure of the industry was related to Kevin's later involvement in the drug world. The question of the availability of alternative employment, and the level of skills Kevin possessed may well have been factors which affected his integration into waged work at this time. As in the case with Larry the emergence of the underground economy associated with drugs needs to be explained.

c. Mark, born 1955

Mark does not know his father, except that he was a Polish refugee who had had a relationship with his mother lasting only a short time. After his birth Mark lived with his mother and grandparents. He recalls this time with his grandparents with warmth, and has associations of security and stability during this period of his life. When he was about four years old Mark's mother married, moving away from where the grandparents lived and taking Mark with her.

Early in his school career Mark was kept back a year. He was never given a reason why this happened and felt a sense of betrayal, which he has never lost. From this time on he never learnt anything at school. He says he became 'anti-authority' and resented the humiliation of being kept back.

He played rugby which he enjoyed, and his step-father took a keen interest in his sporting activities. Mark took part in some of the neighbourhood activities with the other boys in the area, although he remembers there was a lot of 'aggro' involved. He was always having to prove himself to them, but they did not seem to accept him. Mark's leisure life seems to have involved a great deal of fantasy. He remembers saving for a sheath knife and when he had the knife he kept it in a sheath on his belt. This gave him a sense of power and authority, although he always felt that something was not right but he could never put his finger on it, and still cannot. His mother was querulous and argumentative - she always seemed irritable and resentful. "There was never anything stable about the 'old lady'" was the way he expressed it. His step-father was in secure employment and the family had all the modern amenities.

However, Mark just did not seem to fit in and he was continually fighting with the other boys at school and the school authorities. One day he and another boy stole some golf clubs from a golf course. They were apprehended by the police and this was his first contact with the police and the court system. He left home when he was about 16, but at this stage he described himself as a 'wino' with a serious alcoholic problem. He drifted in with a 'hippie' group around 1970, and since this time has lived on the fringes of, and within the drug culture, and in and out of prison. His main crimes which have led to imprisonment have been burglaries of chemist shops or doctors' surgeries.

Mark is a 'junkie' and his ability to hold down a job is negligible, although he is skilled at 'scoring' dope both in and out of prison. He gives the impression of living a chaotic life, but his life is aimed solely at 'scoring' drugs, and he has no worries whether this is in or out of prison. He has no fear of prison as he knows how to obtain drugs in that environment. On his own admission he thinks he will probably die from an overdose of drugs.

Mark has adopted the strategies and lifestyle of a junkie which seems chaotic and disorganised. The use of drugs has been a central feature of his life, although he has not been involved as a dealer. His offending, much of which involved dishonesty, was indirectly related to drug use.

Mark's case highlights the problematic nature of relationships between the institution of the household, the education system, and the social institutions of the wider society. The question is "if there are problems in the way in which these institutional forms operate, why is it that integration into waged work is disrupted?" Is this question simply one of individuals failing to adapt, or does an explanation lie at the level of family organisation in terms of the structure of New Zealand society? The other thing which arises out of Mark's life is the issue that his parents were unable to direct and control his activities, and he drifted into the company of other drug addicts and alcoholics.

d. <u>Ray, born 1955</u>

Ray lived with his parents until he was about two years old, at which stage the parents separated. He then went to live with an aunt and uncle for the next ten years. When he was about five years old Ray's father came to live in the house with the aunt and uncle. About four

years later his aunt and uncle shifted to a small rural town and shortly after this they moved to a remote rural area in the North Island where the uncle was employed. Ray accompanied them on these moves. He stayed with his aunt and uncle until he was about 12 years old, and then returned to live with his father.

While living in a rural area in the South Island Ray started thieving. He had few companions and spent most of his time outside of school on his own. He used to steal food and money and he found that stealing gave him a thrill and sense of exhilaration. He felt both fear and excitement. When they shifted to the North Island he continued thieving and even did some minor burglaries. There were few children of his own age and he continued to keep to himself. He had plenty of spare time as he was not required to make any contribution to the household's needs by way of jobs or other work. The only recreation and leisure activity which the aunt and uncle involved Ray were outings in the car and sight-seeing. This bored Ray and he dreaded going. He was given a bike but this was removed after he had been caught stealing. On one occasion at the school he terrorised the other school children by telling them there were rats in the school which were going to attack them. After the other children left he stole some money from the class room. The teacher caught him and he was given the strap. He ran away from the school but was apprehended by the police and put in a cell for two hours. It was the cell which George Wilder[8] had occupied and Ray thought this was a 'big deal'. At about this time Ray had begun identifying himself as a criminal, and he had a desire to be a criminal.

Ray advised that recently he had visited his aunt and uncle who talked about the early period of Ray's life. They said that when Ray's father was living in the house he would fill Ray's mind with all sorts of fantastic

ideas which the father could never fulfill. This would fire Ray's imagination about what wonderful things he and his father might do, but at the same time his aunt and uncle represented the world of reality which Ray regarded as oppressive, but where in fact he enjoyed a fair measure of freedom. Ray's father was an alcoholic, but because he was a good tradesman he was able to maintain a job. Ray and his father shared a bedroom, but because of the fantastic stories the aunt shifted Ray to the bedroom of another family member in the hope that this would curb any unrealistic dreams Ray might have about the world. However, Ray always longed to live with his father, and as long as he was with his aunt this was always his dream.

Ray was too much of a handful for his aunt and uncle, and in desperation the family decided to let him go back to his father. While he was with his father Ray was left alone during the day to do his 'own thing' as his father was at work. His father usually arrived home drunk, and then it was necessary to prepare meals and so on. It seems that the tasks involved in caring for and controlling Ray were beyond the capabilities of Ray's father. When the father found out Ray had been stealing he beat the 'living day lights' out of Ray. Ray was stunned by this reaction and by the brutality of the beating and ran away. It was at this point that the welfare were invited to take a hand in the matter.

He was at the Boy's Home for about eight months and ran away a few times. He hated the place and resented the discipline which contrasted sharply with the freedom he had enjoyed with his aunt and uncle. At the Boys' Home he was accused of being a 'cry baby' and a pimp. He was forced to obey through a regime of sanctions such as physical exercises, solitary confinement and standing in one place for several hours. Ray felt there was a

concerted effort to break his will which he despised and refused to obey.

Ray and four companions left the home and converted a car in Dunedin. They were apprehended near Ashburton and Ray was detained in custody, then transferred to Stanmore Road Boys' Home in Christchurch where he stayed for about four months. Ray spent time in different foster homes, the Hokio Beach Training centre near Levin, and even some time with his mother. He was released from Hokio in 1970 when he was about 15 years of age, and returned to Invercargill to live with his mother.

Ray's mother had remarried and Ray felt that his presence in the house was resented by his step-father. As was usual for Ray, he seemed to be on his own, and he was not involved in activities which involved other persons. He started thieving again and was finally sentenced to Borstal. He hated Borstal at first but once he was accustomed to the place he started 'stirring' and this resulted in him staying for a lengthy period of 13 and a half months.

After being released from Borstal in 1972 he 'hung around' Invercargill for about three months and then shifted to Christchurch. He worked in Christchurch for about three months and then went on a crime spree all over the country. This involved burglaries, obtaining credit by fraud and theft. In April 1972 he was sentenced to another twelve months in Borstal. He was released in April 1973 but in May 1973 was sentenced once again to Borstal for further burglaries and then transferred to Waikeria prison where he spent 11 months. Later, he was transferred to the Wellington pre-release hostel for about a month before he absconded. He was later arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for further offences in late-1974. He spent the next five years until late-1979 in and out of prison for property

offending and drugs offences. From 1979 until 1984 he lived from the proceeds of drug dealing but in 1984 he was sentenced to two months imprisonment for breach of periodic detention. He had received a sentence of periodic detention for possession of cannabis.

Ray identifies strongly with terrorist groups such as the Red Brigade, Beider Meinhoff, the I.R.A. and the P.L.O. The people he admires are those who have succeeded in the drug business who have made plenty of money and live a stylish lifestyle. This is what he aspires to. He admits to having a 'drug problem' as it is only by taking drugs that he can feel normal. At most times he feels emotionally dead, although it was clear that he feels quite passionately about many things, including his 'lady'. Although Ray was an outsider he had welldeveloped, sensitive social tastes and abided by conventional standards of etiquette. His social skills were very much better developed than, say Kevin, who was ill-equipped to handle social situations. These lifeskills were useful for the commission of credit fraud offences.

Ray is another case where the integration into a family situation was disrupted, and this disruption resulted in him resisting the direction and control of his aunt and uncle. When living with his father Ray was formally free from direction and control, but became involved in petty thieving. When he finally came under the direct control of social control agencies he resisted and rebelled against the regime of control. When he was released from custody he soon drifted into a pattern of offending, some of which was related to a 'Joe Swinger' lifestyle, and later to drug use and dealing.

e. John, born 1961

Shortly before the time of the interviews John had been released from prison, but within four days he was rearrested. He and his companions had tried to carry out a robbery of a hotel's cash takings. Some time after the interview John was arrested for the burglary of a chemist shop for drugs.

There are five children in John's family, three older brothers and a younger sister. At the time of interview John's father did not keep good health and has since died. When John was born his father was employed as a psychiatric nurse, however he had a nervous breakdown and had to give up that job. For most of John's early life his father was employed as a barman and John said his father was an alcoholic. John admired and respected his father's intellectual and aesthetic talents. His father was strict on the children, and had a high sense of morality, particularly concerning theft and private property. John described his mother as down-trodden by the circumstances of the household: five children, a husband who drank too much, and in addition she was the main one involved in the upbringing of the children. John explains that whenever his mother forbade him from doing something, he would simply nag her until he wore her down and she would consent to his wishes. His father as a barman was often away from the home during meal hours and other times when the rest of the family were present. The family lived in a State house and they had never owned a car. The house was adequately, even if sparsely furnished. John was never conscious of being deprived in a material sense and, although he was aware that his family was not as well off as others, this did not bother him as he would steal anything he wanted.

In the course of the interviews John conveyed the impression that he was the odd one out in the family.

His eldest brother had high expectations placed upon him by his father. The other two brothers had more attention from their parents than him, as did his youngest sister. However, he denies that there was any discrimination and that this set of relations gave him a certain freedom from the rest of the family. He was the class clown and prided himself upon his toughness and to sustain this image he had to have quite a few fights.

John started thieving when he was quite young. He would steal money from his parents and buy food and treat his friends. He also stole food from the school and even did some small burglaries, but only ever taking money or food. The money was spent on sweets and cigarettes. He and his friends partly derailed a train when he was nine years old, and this action and the petty thieving brought him to the attention of the youth aid section of the police. He joined a boxing club and was keen on other sport, including rugby league, baseball and athletics.

It was not until he was about 12 or 13 years old that he realised that his father was an alcoholic. He remembers that his mother was often irritable and querulous, but he remembers also being warmly treated and received by his mother. He spent most of his leisure time with his mates outside the home. They were into vandalism, throwing stones and generally being destructive. He enjoyed these types of activities and as well as this he continued thieving and shoplifting and even did some small burglaries. He regarded the whole of North Christchurch as the territory of himself and his friends. It seems clear that he was a handful for the family and when he was about 11 years old his grandmother suggested that he go to a Salvation Army home at Temuka. He was assessed and later accepted. The home was strange at first, but after a time he started to like it and entered into the spirit of the place. There was plenty to do and he was involved in all of the varied activities which were

available. He eventually returned home and when at home 'went on' about the home until it got on the nerves of other members of the family who told him to "shut up" about the place.

Upon his return home the pattern of thieving and vandalism continued, and this resulted in him coming before the court. It was about this time that he realised that he was not dumb, but that he was, as he put it, "all right in the 'head department'". He realised that he was smarter than most people and that was better than thinking he was dumb, which he had thought until this time. When he came before the court he asked to go to Stanmore Road Boys' Home as he thought it would be like the home at Temuka. When he was eventually sent to Stanmore Road it was a great shock. He said that he could not cop the authority at Stanmore Road, and he was shocked to find that he was not the only tough kid on the street.

When at Stanmore Road he was advised that a doctor would be coming to see him. He decided to pull a 'wrought' on the doctor and feign insanity to get out of Stanmore Road. This apparently worked as he was transferred to Sunnyside Mental Institution. He knew he was not mad, but then he sometimes wondered about this. He ended up enjoying himself at Sunnyside as it was much easier than Stanmore Road and there were fewer hassles than living at home. He was able to manipulate and exploit the situation in the adolescent unit to his own advantage. He was at Sunnyside for a period of eight months and then returned home, which upset him as it meant a return to all the problems associated with being home. He had to contend with his brothers and sister, his mother was often irritable, and his father imposed a strict control on him on his days off work. All of these factors impinged on his freedom and autonomy.

He could not get on with his mother or his sister, and tried to keep out of his father's way. His father was off work on Sundays and Wednesdays and these were days which John dreaded because it curtailed his freedom. He could not wear down or manipulate his father in the way he could his mother. He became quite active again in thieving and burglaries and ended up in the Detention Centre. He had a bad record at the Detention Centre and spent 47 days in solitary, which was a record at the time. Upon his release from the Detention Centre in about 1978 he got into trouble fairly quickly, and it was at about this time that he realised that he had addiction problems with drugs and alcohol. He had only a very spasmodic and limited period in employment, being unable to hold down a job for any time at all.

In 1979 he received his first sentence of imprisonment - for credit fraud. After release from prison he moved to the West Coast and lived with some 'druggies'. While on the West Coast he was taking drugs and involved in minor dishonesty offending. He was on the dole and/or working on job schemes. He worked for a time on a fishing boat but had to give this up because of sea sickness, and because the fisherman he worked for was a 'dare-devil' who scared John with some of the risks he took. After returning from the West Coast John got into trouble once more as a result of dishonesty offending and was sentenced to imprisonment.

John recalled that throughout his life people pestered him about what he was going to do when he grew up but he never took these matters seriously. His parent were not involved in any of the activities at the schools the children attended. He commented that his mother was too busy looking after the family and his father worked in the evenings when anything was on at the school. His life-history was such that he never received any training, and was perpetually in one institution after

another, rebelling against authority and being restrained by these same authoritative organisations. He drifted into the use of drugs and became an addict.

John would have presented any household or family with a problem of control. As it was, his father imposed a strict regime of control whenever he was at home, but generally John devised strategies to gain as much freedom and autonomy for himself as he could. John's case demonstrates once again the problematic nature of the private and individual household as an institutional form charged with regulating and directing the activities of household or family members. In John's case the situation was not helped by the ill-health of John's father, and the relative impoverishment experienced by the family.

f. Shaun, born 1962

Shaun had been born with a hearing defect which was not corrected until he had an operation when he was 7 years old. He was afraid of his father who kept him under very tight control, although Shaun does not remember ever really doing anything with his father, or being involved in any family activities. His father seemed to resent the fact that Shaun had impaired hearing.

Shaun's parents separated around 1970 when he was about eight years old. After the separation Shaun lived with his mother and his four older sisters. The separation of his parents meant that Shaun no longer had to contend with the authoritarian father and the beatings this involved. His mother had a job in a fish and chip shop, and her hours of work were in the afternoons and early evenings, from Monday to Friday. This meant that Shaun was free from the time school finished until his mother arrived home. He would sometimes go down to the fish and chip shop to see his mother. He was keen on rugby league

and other sports and spent a lot of time playing these games, but the family were not involved together in his sport. His mother did not really seem interested in his school work and never attended any of the functions at the school. According to Shaun she was busy working trying to keep the family together. Shaun does not know how much income his mother was receiving, but he appreciated that they were 'hard-up' compared with other families in their neighbourhood. Shaun states that he was quite free to do his own thing, and he started to get involved in petty thieving.

He was picked up by the police for thieving and eventually went to the Stanmore Road Boys' Home. He went to Stanmore Road on about 14 occasions up to the time he was 15 years of age. He remembers being sent to the Boys' Home at Levin which he quite liked compared with Stanmore Road. He liked the way the place was run as there was plenty to do and he enjoyed the games and sports. There never seemed enough time in the day at Levin. He was in Levin for about twelve months and then returned to Christchurch. He was back in Christchurch for about seven months before being sentenced to Borstal for car conversion offences. He had teamed up with some people who stole cars, stripped them down and rebuilt them. His job was to steal the cars.

Upon his release from Borstal he went back to car conversion with the people he was involved with before going to Borstal. While he was involved with the car stealing operation, he learnt to weld and also learned quite a lot about the mechanical side of cars. He was not involved with drugs or alcohol, and although he had the odd drink, he did not have an addiction problem. Shortly after the interview Shaun was again picked up for burglary and car conversion, and received another prison sentence. Shaun described an elaborate organisation involved in the theft and recycling of vehicles which the

police were aware of but which they could not break into. They tried to intimidate Shaun into informing on the persons involved in an attempt to smash the racket. Shaun says he was 'staunch'.

The same feature is present in Shaun's case as with some others concerning the problematic nature of private and individually organised households. Shaun was free from direction and control and in this situation started stealing. Later the pattern of offending was concentrated upon motor vehicles which are a central feature of the modern lifestyle. Shaun subscribes to the 'Joe Swinger' beliefs and attitudes, and the theft and recycling of motor vehicles is an alternative form of income to waged work.

g. Ric, born 1953

Ric's father is a small time hustler, which includes training and racing horses, and who is always trying to make a fast dollar. Ric's mother was hard working, and was the mainstay of the family. She died in the early 1970s when Ric was about 19 years old. There were five boys and two girls in the family and Ric was the fourth in the family. Ric's troubles with the criminal justice system started after his mother's death. He had been in trouble with the police once before his mother's death, but it was relatively minor and did not establish a pattern of offending.

Ric had been involved in credit fraud concerning the purchase of things like cars and television sets between 1973 and 1985. This meant a routine of prison and release and then re-offending. He once served a straight period of four and half years for an original sentence of six months. His sentence was increased because of persistent escapes. These escapes were associated with

trying to make contact with his wife who had sent him a "Dear John" letter while he was in prison.

Ric has been involved with horses all his life, training, riding and preparing them for racing. Ric's offences have been crudely carried out, and represent an attempt to engage in a lifestyle involving the private and individual use of resources through credit frauds. A factor which aggravated Ric's situation almost as much as his mother's death was the fact that his father tried to cheat him out of the money his mother had left him in her will. His first major offence was forging cheques on his father's bank account after which his father informed the police. Ric felt his father was only getting what was due to him.

He has worked in manual work in factories and horse training stables, and he rose to stable foreman in one of the leading racing stables in the North Island. He appears to have reached the point now of being unable to settle to regular work. He would like to get back into racing but because of his convictions he is unable to work in stables or have anything to do with racing.[9] Since the interview he entered into a relationship with a woman, and worked for a time. However, in order to purchase a car and television set he floated some worthless cheques, and then he and his partner went on a trip around the North Island financed from credit cards and cheques. Ric received another sentence of imprisonment for these offences, but has since been released once again.

h. <u>Steve, born mid-1950s</u>

Steve was born in the mid-1950s, and was in his mid-twenties in 1979 when sentenced to three years imprisonment for trading in heroin.

Steve's biography is different from the others recorded here in that there was no disruptive experience which destabilised his life. Since his release from prison, however, he has not been involved in offending and now trades successfully as a property developer.

Steve was the only son of a respectable, stable working-class family. His father was a house painter and his parents lived in a working-class suburb of a major New Zealand city. Steve spent two and a half years at secondary school and then became an apprentice carpenter. While at school he presented no problems to the school authorities. He achieved a reasonable scholastic record, but was not interested in school work. He left school as soon as he was 15 and secured a carpentry apprenticeship with a medium-sized house builder.

While at school Steve's activities were divided between school and leisure activities, and he was not required to make any contribution to the needs of the household. His mother handled all of the domestic work within the home and his father kept the grounds in order, including a vegetable garden. Steve played no sport and leisure activities consisted of 'hanging around' with his mates in milk bars or in the city centre. There was a high level of interaction with girls who also spent time hanging around the streets. Steve's neighbourhood friends' main preoccupation was having a good time, which meant attending discos, listening to music and being about the streets. These activities involved little, if any, adult supervision. Steve stated that most of the adults in the area were working people and many of the women were either working, or busy in their homes taking care of their families. The children were able to have a lot of free time without parents or adults interfering with them.

Having a good time also involved drinking alcohol and smoking dope which was just becoming available. Most of the group also smoked cigarettes. While at school most of this group were dependent upon their parents for their spending money, but some had part-time jobs. At different times Steve had a paper round and part-time jobs in factories and shops. These jobs provided money which increased the level of mobility and access to such things as alcohol and dope. Some of the group were also involved in petty thefts as a means of getting money. Seldom did any of the group steal goods - they were only interested in money as means of buying the things they wanted. Thefts were random occurrences and happened whenever an opportunity presented itself.

When Steve started work his life changed to the extent that he was financially independent but he had less time for leisure. In the early period of his work he was hardly affluent and his first priority was to save for a car. Once he started work Steve also entered a new social milieu where most of his companions were older and more affluent. Most of them were working as apprentices or factory hands, and some had served their time as apprentices. The leisure activities of these persons were concentrated in pubs, listening to music in each others homes, driving motor vehicles and some gambling at horse racing and cards.

Steve's employer was in his mid-thirties and had accumulated a significant amount of property from his building and property development activities. He had a 'flash house' and a prestige-type car. He also had good plant and equipment for the building business. This person was Steve's first experience of somebody who was not working-class and who had been successful in accumulating wealth. Steve's boss had a power boat, a caravan, entertained in his home, and was able to dine out in hotels and restaurants. This was a life-style which was totally

foreign to Steve's experience. The employer was a self-made person who had started in much the same circumstances as Steve. Steve compared his employer's lifestyle with his father's and Steve realised that he could never aspire to a lifestyle such as his employer's on a working wage.

At this stage of his life there were three main concerns which preoccupied his thinking. There was firstly the problem of work, which he quite enjoyed but which he thought would imprison him in boredom and impoverishment for the remainder of his life. Second, was his relationship with women, and the courtship patterns of his friends and their girl friends. Steve had entered into a relationship with a girl during this time whom he later married. The third concern was to engage in a lifestyle similar to his employer's, but not having the resources either material or cultural meant this was closed to him. Steve became ambitious to better himself. It also dawned upon him that his employer was not an isolated individual, but that there was a whole range of people who shared this type of life. Steve resolved that if his boss could make it so could he.

It so happened that Steve's employer liked Steve and so they became reasonably friendly, and this friendship enabled Steve to gain a better appreciation of the employer's lifestyle and what it entailed. This was a period of social learning for Steve. Steve completed his apprenticeship in the mid-seventies, and it was his intention to start building on his own account. At this time he had enough money to buy a reasonable sort of car. He was still living at home, but found the atmosphere stultifying even though his relationship with his parents was amicable.

Although Steve had served his time as a carpenter he had insufficient capital to start on his own. This was at a

time when the building industry, particularly house building, went into decline from the period after 1975. Steve was about to marry so the lack of capital was a very painful experience for him.

At about this time Steve had been associating with some people who were growing cannabis. It was at about this time that cannabis was becoming more freely available, and Steve started dealing in cannabis. This supplemented his income but the profits were modest. He could see the chance for substantial profits in dealing in heroin which was quite freely available at the time. Steve made contact with a dealer who advanced him the money to become involved in heroin dealing. He began building up a clientele throughout the North Island, his main customers being girls in massage parlours. In no time at all Steve had made enough money to give up his job as a carpenter and became a full-time heroin dealer, remaining active as a dealer until he was arrested. In this time he accumulated a significant amount of wealth, certainly sufficient to set himself up as a property developer upon his release from prison.

While dealing, Steve was able to lead the life of a 'swinger'. He had plenty of money, his lifestyle involved living in hotels, dining out, 'scoring deals' and driving 'classy' motor vehicles. He was able to purchase a good house for his wife, who had two children in succession. His 'swinger' lifestyle brought him into contact with many other women and soon his marriage relationship began to deteriorate, and finally ended in divorce while Steve was in prison. Steve began using heroin himself in order to sustain his feelings of euphoria which was associated with the life of dealing. The life was very stressful, but also exciting and the heroin helped maintain this 'high' feeling.

On occasions his customers failed to pay their account, and Steve advises that in this situation the 'heavies' were called in to sort matters out. Unfortunately for Steve heroin got the better of him and reduced his capacity to function. He became careless and was finally entrapped by an undercover policemen. Ironically Steve claimed that his arrest and subsequent imprisonment saved him. He was able to come off the drug and to escape the entanglements of the market. He claimed that he was clear of drug dealing and was making as much money from property development.

Steve's case highlights an interesting relationship between the regulation of the activities of young persons in the neighbourhood and the emergence of drug use in the early 1970s. His case also indicates a relationship between the mode of consumption, the emergence of drugs, and the downturn in the building and construction sector in the mid-seventies. This downturn frustrated Steve's intentions to start business on his own account.

i. <u>Dave, born 1954</u>

Dave was aged 26 in 1980 when arrested for cultivating cannabis and sentenced to 4 years imprisonment.

Dave was born and brought up in a provincial city in the North Island. He lived most of his life there, apart from a period at University in Wellington. His parents were moderately well off, his father being a supervisor in the clerical section of a government department and his mother a school teacher. Dave was a good student at school and then went on to university. At university he studied for an arts degree but did not complete the degree, as he left after two years. Dave's activities at secondary school were divided between attendance at school, studying and leisure activities. He did not play sport so his leisure activities involved surfing in the

summer, and in socialising with his friends. His parents were not involved in his leisure activities, or he in their's. His parents played bridge and attended to their garden, and they did not require Dave to make any contribution to the material needs of the household.

Dave was dependent upon his parents for money and they were reasonably generous with money. He finished secondary school in 1971, and then went to Wellington in 1972. In his leisure activities he started smoking cannabis and had an experience with LSD which was a positive experience for him. This experience expanded his awareness and consciousness. He had found the life in the provincial town among his parents nauseating, and it was good to have the freedom of the larger city and student life. However, there seemed to be an enormous gulf between the entrapment in a body and the range of awareness that the LSD experience had unlocked. He was interested in religious experience, particularly mystical religious experience and recognised the relationship between what he had experienced and the experience of the mystics. He became fascinated with the question of human awareness and consciousness. He was fascinated with madness and the individual's capacity to endure at the edge of sanity and madness. He developed an almost grotesque quest to find 'reality' and found the constraints of his human body degrading and demeaning. He began to experience the tension between his individual boundless consciousness, the demands of his physical body and the social system which also restrained him, as almost unbearable. He was an individualist of almost frightening intensity.

It is not surprising that in this situation he found it impossible to subject himself to the rigours of a university course, and so he returned to his home town. While at university he had become enmeshed in the drug world and had experimented with heroin, LSD and cannabis.

He had become involved in dealing in these drugs and was known to, and knew many who controlled the drug world.

In his home town he secured a job as a shop manager. This job was only a front for his drug dealing activities. He also started growing cannabis, and within two years had accumulated enough wealth to purchase a twelve hectare property on which he started growing cannabis. He even tried growing cannabis inside in a warehouse under lights but the experiment was not very successful.

Two years after his return to the home town Dave married and there have been three children of this marriage. The marriage did not survive the prison experience, and Dave has custody of the children, who live with him and his new partner. Upon his release from prison Dave has secured employment as a shop manager. He is no longer involved in cultivation or dealing, but he still smokes cannabis.

The question of integration for Dave is a problematic affair, given his drive and passion for experience beyond the mundane and the ordinary. It is likely that he would have found it difficult to fit-in in any situation. Dave's case is important in that it shows how he resolved this tension by becoming involved in drug use and distribution. Like a number of others whose lives are profiled the importance of drugs once more is clear. We suggest that it is important to be able to explain the changes which occurred in our society which made the use of drugs possible. We will argue that the reasons this occurred operate at what we will call the primary and secondary levels of regulation. We argue that the changes in these two levels of regulation provided the material basis upon which people like Dave could resolve some of the tensions and dilemmas in their lives, and

where the consumption and use of drugs was a central feature.

j. Colin, born 1947

Colin, aged 35 years in 1982, was sentenced to three and half years imprisonment for aggravated assault as a result of an incident concerned with the collection of a drug debt.

Colin's home is in the far north of the North Island. His father was Maori and his mother Scottish. There was a big family with Colin being one of the youngest. Colin was about 15 years old when his father died at the age of 75. This was in 1963 and at about this time Colin was forced to leave his home as there were no jobs and many of his family were moving into the towns. Colin ended up living in a number of towns in the northern half of the North Island. He was a talented musician and had spent most of his life in dance bands, earning his living as a professional musician. He supplemented his income from music by selling drugs over a long period of time. His experience in the drug world is widespread, and he has traded in all variety of drugs - cocaine, heroin, LSD and cannabis. Drugs were widely used and available in the music scene, so it was not hard to start dealing.

Colin had married and he and his wife had two small children. However, his marriage did not survive the imprisonment. Colin's life as a drug dealer created a 'scary' life for his wife and she could not take the tensions involved. He was a middle-man for the city dealers and he was expected to keep his patch in order. One sub-dealer failed to pay an account and Colin went to see him with some 'heavies'. They beat the person up, whose wife informed the police. Colin took

responsibility and was advised by his associates that upon his release he would be taken care of because he had not 'narked' on them. However, Colin wanted to be free of the drug scene upon his release from prison, at which time he planned to buy a housetruck and move around the country making craft items and living off the dole. He had no plans to join the labour force.

Colin had an acute sense of the rhythms of nature and how to interact with them. He had been brought up in the far north and now longed to return. He had left originally because there was no work available and all his relatives were leaving. Only the old folks had stayed. He said he loved to walk bare-footed along the beach in the wind and the rain. Even the stars seemed closer when he was at home in the north. Colin did not desire possessions, nor did he desire power or seek recognition. He wanted to live a simple life in touch with nature and to make music. In the cities making music meant being part of the 'swinging set', and this required money and resources. He had an acute sense of wonder and gloried in the majesty of the world, the stars, the sky and so on. He was more of a poet than a criminal.

Although he was a mild person (which contradicts the fact that he was sentenced to imprisonment for a serious case of violent offending), there was a burning passion to express his creativity and mend his fractured consciousness. He seemed to think there was something in the human condition which was inherently amiss, that we are in need of some sort of healing and redemption. His father had taught him many Maori myths and legends, and the way these contradictions in human life are resolved in Maori life. He spent a great deal of time reading the myths of his people.

Colin felt himself in a Catch 22 situation. He had no interest in work, career or possessions for their own sakes. He felt a grave gap in his life that there seemed no outlet to be the person he thought he should be. At least the music world provided an opportunity for musical expression - drugs provide the means to obtain the funds to remain in that scene. In a sense once in the drug world he could not get out. He had some hair raising experiences in the drug world which indicate how difficult it would be to get out, and how dangerous it is. He recounted one story of trading some cocaine under the surveillance of a person armed with a sub-machine gun. Long prison sentences have meant that the people in the drug world know there is not much difference between the length of sentence for murder and some class A drug dealing. They are prepared to kill if this will silence a witness.

Colin's desire to be a musician meant that he was never integrated into the world of waged work, but the income from music was rather spasmodic and uncertain. Involvement in drugs subsidised his income, and the use of drugs was consistent with the 'music scene' where drug use is relatively common. Colin's case also points to a relationship between the drug economy and the existence of serious crimes of violence. The build-up in certain types of violent crime is directly associated with the disciplining and regulation of the underground economy.

4. The Census of Prison Inmates 1987

On the 12th of November 1987 a census of prison inmates was conducted by the Justice Department (Braybrooke and O'Neil, 1988). On this day the prison muster stood at 2,782[10] with almost one half being under 25 years old and 71% under 30 years old.[11] A little less than half of the sentenced inmates were Maori, 44% were Caucasian, and a

small proportion (7%) were classified as Pacific Islanders.[12] In the case of male prisoners only 31% had not been previously sentenced to imprisonment, and in the case of female offenders almost one half had not been previously sentenced to imprisonment. Most inmates had had a significant offending history, with 84% of men and 74% of women having at least six previous convictions.[13]

The most prevalent offence involving imprisonment was for some form of violence, followed by property offending, drug offending and traffic offending. The most common form of violent offending was robbery. Traffic offending involved driving while disqualified and drunk driving.[14] The higher incidence of violent offenders among inmates is related to the provisions of the Criminal Justice Amendment Act 1985, where certain types of violence carry mandatory prison sentences. However, in other types of offending imprisonment is to be used only if there is no other alternative. This legislative change is likely to lead to a higher relative incidence of violent offenders in prison, even though violence is still a relatively low contributor to the offending statistics.[15]

An attempt was made by Braybrooke and O'Neil to analyse the case histories of a sample of inmates. All female inmates were included in the sample and one-third of male inmates. The data was drawn from the prison files and from such things as probation and psychological reports. The data was quite general in nature and of limited value in terms of the type of inquiry we undertake here. However, there are some features of the census which point in the same direction as aspects of our vignettes. A high incidence of family tension was recorded in terms of the degree of intervention by various agencies. The major form of tensions identified were marital discord, alcohol and violence involving children. Just over 70% of the inmates first came to the attention of some social agency between the age of 10 and 19 years, with the most

probable age range being between 15 and 19. The social agencies involved are the police and the Department of Social Welfare.[16]

Many of those profiled in the vignettes were not integrated into the activities of their households and they were free from the control and direction of the established generation. A feature of this inter-generational relation in some cases was that a formal freedom existed, sometimes arising out of marital tensions or breakdowns in marital relations. Another feature of the profiles is the way in which neighbourhood relations were comparatively free from the control of the established generation. In this vacuum the police and other agencies intervened to curb the activities of those concerned. It is in the fluid neighbourhood situation that many young persons attract the attention of the police or social welfare agencies.

An important ingredient of the current pattern of offending and imprisonment is the production, distribution and consumption of drugs. This is also a central feature in a number of the vignettes, although some of those profiled are solely consumers, others are consumers and distributors, and some are involved in production, distribution and consumption. The vignettes indicate that there is a close relationship between drug use, violent crime and dishonesty offending. In the census report alcohol and drugs were a problem for 52.0% and 34.4% of male and female offenders respectively. Other personal problems noted were employment (18.4%), finances (16.5%) and health (14.7%).

The relatively low incidence of employment and finance as a problem may be related to the high incidence of inmates who relied upon a social welfare benefit as a form of income (58% for males and 78% for females), and to the existence of an 'underground economy' providing an

alternative and additional source of income. We can see from the vignettes that many of those concerned were involved in some way or another with the activities of an 'underground economy'. Among male inmates 64.7% were unemployed at the time of sentence and almost half of these had been unemployed for more than a year.[17]

These figures are consistent with the fact that many of those profiled here did not make a legitimate contribution to the production of their needs, in terms of what we call the contribution norms of society. However, the form of the lifestyle chosen was accompanied by a lack of the means to engage in this lifestyle and resulted in the violation of the norms of society. For example, Ric attempted to engage in a lifestyle involving cars and consumer durables through violations of the credit norms. Steve chose to engage in this lifestyle through trading in heroin.

The Justice Department census records that the inmate population had weak links to community groups and informal social networks, and that they therefore had few supports to assist them in coping with society.[18] One of the general features accompanying offending portrayed in the vignettes was the loose links the persons had with other social groupings.

5. Specifying the Problem to be Resolved

The vignettes and the census data point to a number of common features which we think assist us in formulating our problem of persistent offending and its relationship to imprisonment with more precision. The first concerns the existence of an under-class from which the offenders are drawn. This is a universal feature as we observed above, although the nature and form of the under-class has changed over time. The second universal feature relates to the predatory values and norms which guided

the lives of the offenders. There are therefore two broad features, one concerned with the structure of society, the other concerned with the sphere of norms and values, which we will call the moral and normative order. The question arises as to the relationship between the social structural issues relating to the existence of an under-class, and the moral and normative order which regulates and guides activity.

The vignettes are valuable for our purposes here for three main reasons. Firstly, they highlight the predatory nature of the lives of those concerned. Secondly, they show that these persons were not part of the mainstream of New Zealand society and that they 'enjoyed' a formal freedom from the constraints of mainstream social life. Even if they wanted to be a part of it, most of them lacked the resources required to participate in the mainstream of society. Thirdly, they were excluded from participation from what we have called the contribution norms of society. However, the vignettes do not throw any light upon the reasons for the existence of a predatory under-class, nor upon the reasons for the existence of the moral and normative order which regulated their lives.

The vignettes also have value in suggesting that the explanation for the existence of an under-class, the predatory moral and normative order, and the offending patterns does not lie at the level of the narrow empirical observation of the lives and experiences of those concerned. The vignettes also suggest that the social organisation of production and consumption might hold answers to a new and more compelling explanation of the problem of persistent offending. This involves a shift to the level of social relations, the manner in which these relations are regulated, and the consequences these social relations have for the existence of an

under-class, and the moral and normative order regulating and guiding their lives.

This Chapter began by relating the experiences of the author when he was sentenced to imprisonment in 1979 for offences associated with the operation of a legal practise and commercial undertakings in which he was involved. This experience was a traumatic one to say the least, but in the prison environment he was able to repair much of the psychic damage, and this was due in no small part to the values of 'staunchness' which regulated life in the prisoners' social system. The author's prison experience brought him into contact with a number of people whose experiences were much different to his own. Many of these others were locked into a cycle of offending and imprisonment, and they did not seem able to, or perhaps did not want to, break out of it. They were persistent offenders, and it is the problem of the persistent offender which is the concern of this research project.

We have also noted that the nature of offending has changed during the period between the 1920s and the present, although it was possible to identify two universal features associated with persistent offending. The first concerned the existence of an under-class, and the second was a predatory moral and normative order, regulating and guiding activity. The first feature relates to the sphere of social relations which regulate production, consumption and reproduction, the second to the sphere of the moral and normative order. In the Chapter Two we will consider how these questions and the relationship between social structures and the moral and normative order might be theorised in order that we can deepen our understanding of the social features of the problem of persistent offending.

Notes

1. The Erebus crash refers to the crash of an Air New Zealand DC10 on Mt Erebus on the 28th of November 1979 in which the entire crew and passengers were killed.

2. See Calkin (1985) where I deal more fully with punishment and resistance in New Zealand prisons.

3. In its submission to the Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into the Prison System 1988 the Justice Department outlined its case method approach designed, as it stated, to reintegrate offenders back into the community. The main thrust of the approach focuses upon resocialisation and retraining, both necessary aspects of reintegration, but which are not of themselves sufficient as we will endeavour to show.

4. This section is intended as an introductory outline only, and comprehensive Tables and Figures concerning offending patterns will be presented in Chapter Seven.

5. These profiles were compiled by the author while he was working in the Salisbury Street Foundation in 1984-85, and while an inmate of Wi Tako Prison between November 1979 and May 1983.

6. The term 'New Zealand green' refers to marijuana grown in New Zealand as opposed to marijuana 'imported' from overseas.

7. We will deal with the 'Joe Lunch Box'/'Joe Swinger' relationship more fully later.

8. George Wilder escaped from prison and eluded the police for several months. He became something of a folk hero.

9. The rules of horse racing preclude the employment within the industry of persons with criminal convictions without the dispensation of the Racing Conference, the body which administers horse racing.

10. Braybrooke and O'Neil (1988), page 17.

11. Ibid page 17.

12. Ibid page 17.

13. Ibid page 20.

14. Ibid page 19.

15. Criminal Justice Act 1985, Part VI.

16. Braybrooke and O'Neil (1988), page 145.

17. Ibid page 119.

18. Ibid page 125.

CHAPTER TWO

A THEORY OF REGULATION AND INTEGRATION

1. Introduction

In Chapter One the author dealt with his prison experience and showed how this experience led to an interest in the problem of persistent offending. We considered in outline the way in which persistent offending had changed in the period between 1920 and the present. We want now to make clear the way in which we propose dealing with the problem of persistent offending. We have noted how persistent offenders were part of an under-class, and how they shared a predatory moral and normative order. Our aim is to understand the formation of under-classes and the predatory moral or normative order in terms of the forces which regulate social activities.

We will commence our study of these problems with a critique of Durkheim, and Merton (1968). In our study of Durkheim we will concentrate upon his first three main works: Suicide (1951), The Division of Labour (1964) and The Rules of Sociological Method (1982). We will refer to these henceforth as *Division of Labour*, *The Rules* and *Suicide*. Our critique does not purport to be an analysis of the whole of Durkheim's work, but will concentrate upon the question of how he dealt with the regulation of organic societies.[1]

2. A Critique of Durkheim

a. Introduction

The central focus of Durkheim's sociology was the question of the social solidarity of modern industrial

societies. That is, how is it possible in modern complex and highly differentiated societies that the energies of diverse individuals can be coordinated into moral, stable and predictable patterns of activity? Solidarity captures the twin issue of regulation and integration.

Regulation is used in two ways by Durkheim. Firstly, it refers to the way in which individuals are regulated in terms of norms and values, which we call secondary regulation. This aspect of Durkheim's work refers to the moral and normative order, and as we noted in Chapter One, persistent offending is associated with a predatory moral and normative order. Secondly, what we call primary regulation involves a different level of analysis, and refers to the way in which different activities such as production and consumption are related to each other, and how they are adjusted and brought into a state of balance. This aspect of social regulation is missed by much of the secondary literature on Durkheim that we have examined, but as we will argue, it is a most important feature of social regulation. This aspect of regulation is often subsumed under the category of systems analysis within the structural functionalist literature.[2]

Integration deals with the relationship between social organisation and individual agency. For Durkheim the problem of integration was one of achieving the commitment of social agents to collective life which was regulated by mechanisms of primary regulation. Integration is achieved through the moral and normative order. In his work Durkheim did not always make clear the sense in which he used the terms regulation and integration, sometimes using them synonymously. Nor did Durkheim explicitly make the distinction between the two types of regulation we have defined. We have made these distinctions because we argue they are inherent in

Durkheim's work, and the distinctions help us define the relationship between the social-structural and moral-normative questions. We will maintain these distinctions even though Durkheim did not adhere strictly to the distinctions we have made.

Our critique of Durkheim will consider his theory of the basis of social solidarity. We will consider how he explains the basis of social solidarity in *The Rules*, and we will then deal with social regulation by an examination of *Division of Labour*. In order to study the problem of integration it is necessary to look at Durkheim's theory of human nature, and this will introduce his paper on 'The Dualism of Human Nature and Its Social Conditions' (Durkheim, 1973). We will consider the way in which Durkheim understood the relationship between regulation and integration by seeing how the arguments in *The Rules*, *Division of Labour*, and *Suicide* in relation to the dual nature of human nature might be interpreted as a comprehensive theory of social regulation. We will then consider the implications of this theory of social solidarity for a theory of crime and deviance in general, and persistent offending in particular.

b. Association as the Basis of Society

Durkheim argued that a new dimension of reality emerges out of the association of individuals, and that this realm of reality is a product of the individuals who associate, but is not reducible to them as individuals - it is a property of the group as a group. The issue which arises is, what is the nature of, or what properties does this emergent reality possess? Durkheim states that:

> By virtue of this principle, society is not the sum of individuals, but the system formed by their association represents a specific reality which has

> its own characteristics. Undoubtedly no collective entity can be produced if there is no individual consciousness: this is a necessary but not sufficient condition. It is from this combination that social life arises and consequently it is this combination which explains it. By aggregating together, by interpenetrating, by fusing together, individuals give birth to a being, psychical if you will, but one which constitutes a psychical reality of a new kind (*The Rules*, 1982:129).

We see above that Durkheim argues that society is an emergent reality deriving from the association of individuals. It follows therefore that society is a realm of nature constituted by the association of individuals which produces a collective psychic phenomenon which Durkheim calls the collective conscience. It is this collective consciousness which creates social forces which impact upon individuals setting the boundaries for social action. It is important to recognise what is at stake here. For Durkheim, society is not something distinct from individuals but it exists by virtue of their collective activities, as there can be no society without individuals. However, it is the association of the individuals which leads to the emergent social reality which is the object of study of sociology. It is as if out of collective action a force is released which acts back upon the individuals comprising the group. The force which is released sets the limits and boundaries for social action, or may release forces which generate certain forms of action.

This notion of a force emerging out of association setting limits for social agency is captured very well in the following passage where Durkheim mentions social facts, which are the objects of study in sociology and which impose the constraints and regulation of social agency:

> But in order for a social fact to exist, several individuals at the very least must have interacted together and the resulting combination must have

> given rise to some new production. As this synthesis occurs outside each one of us (since a plurality of consciousness are involved) it has necessarily the effect of crystallising, of instituting outside ourselves, certain modes of action and certain ways of judging which are independent of the particular individual will considered separately. As has been remarked, there is one word which, provided one extends a little its normal meaning, expresses moderately well this very special kind of existence; it is that of institution. In fact, without doing violence to the meaning of the word, one may term an institution all the beliefs and modes of behaviour instituted by the collectivity; sociology can then be defined as the science of institutions, their genesis and their functioning (*The Rules*, 1982:45).

The question which now arises concerns the nature of this emergent force which 'institutes' the forms and patterns of social action. This emergent force is for Durkheim the very substratum of society, a reality which accounts for the forms of collective life at the very core of social life. The emergent force is a moral force imposing or instituting patterns of action which make it possible for collective life to operate. Individuals come together in association, and from this follows cooperation (*Division of Labour*, 1964:278-279). The basis of cooperation is a morality which individuals enforce upon each other, and in the course of doing so the institutions of social life are formed. In 'Professional Ethics and Civic Morals', Durkheim had the following to say about morality and social life:

> A system of morals is always the affair of the group and can only operate if this group protects them by its authority. It is made up of rules which govern individuals, which compel them to act in such and such a way, and which impose limits to their inclinations and forbid them to go beyond. Now there is only one moral power - moral, and hence common to all - which stands above the individual and which can legitimately make laws for him, and that is the collective conscience (Durkheim, 1957:6).

Durkheim identifies two types of society as the mechanical and the organic, and the transition from mechanical to organic society is the subject of his doctoral dissertation and his first major publication 'The Division of Labour'. This transition is well known and we will assume that its essential features are understood. What we propose is a consideration of Durkheim's thesis concerning the content or nature of the emergent morality and the solidarity of organic societies.

c. The Core of the Collective Conscience

The division of labour is, according to Durkheim, the means through which solidarity is accomplished in organic societies. The division of labour's role in achieving solidarity is primary to the subsidiary role of producing material needs. The basis of solidarity created by the division of labour is the mutual inter-dependence we have upon each other, and this inter-dependence is the basis of cooperation. However, it is clear that even though the collective conscience ceases to be the basis of solidarity, as it was under mechanical societies, the division of labour of organic societies is under-pinned by a moral order.

The morality upon which the division of labour is based can be studied by considering the abnormal forms the division of labour takes. Durkheim identified three abnormal forms of the division of labour, of which we will consider two. These are the anomic and the forced division of labour (*Division of Labour*, 1964: 353-354). Durkheim noted three features of the division of labour which characterised anomic or forced divisions of labour. These are the presence of industrial and commercial failures, the conflict between capital and labour, and the discontent experienced by the working classes as to their conditions of existence. The first two of these

are products of the anomic, and the third is the product of the forced division of labour.

We will consider first the forced division of labour and the discontent of the working classes. According to Durkheim this discontent arose because of a forced division of labour:

> It is not sufficient that there be rules, however, for sometimes rules themselves are the cause of evil. This is what happens in class-wars. The institution of classes and of castes constitutes an organisation of the division of labour, and it is a strictly regulated organisation, although it often is a source of dissension. The lower classes not being, or no longer being, satisfied with the role which has devolved upon them from custom or by law aspire to functions which are closed to them and seek to dispossess those who are exercising these functions. Thus civil wars arise which are due to the manner in which labour is distributed (*Division of Labour*, 1964:374).

The forced division of labour is therefore one imposed upon social classes and is characterised by two aspects. The first involved a mismatch between natural capacities and location within the division of labour. The solution to this problem lay in ensuring that natural talent and social task were equated. This was to be the only justifiable basis for inequality, and it is the foundation upon which a spontaneous as opposed to a forced division of labour must be built. Durkheim says:

> ... we may say that the division of labour produces solidarity only if it is spontaneous and in proportion as it is spontaneous. But by spontaneity we must understand not simply the absence of all express violence, but also of everything that can indirectly shackle the free unfolding of the social force that each carries in himself. It supposes, not only that individuals are not relegated to determinate functions by force, but also no obstacle, of whatever nature prevents them from occupying the place in the social framework which is compatible with their faculties. In short, labour is divided spontaneously only if society is constituted in such a way that social inequalities

> exactly express natural inequalities (*Division of Labour*, 1964:377).

The second feature of a forced division of labour concerns equality in exchanges between social agents in the formation of their contracts. If this equality is violated the result is discontent of the working class. In other words, another feature of cooperation is that individuals be rewarded in accordance with the contribution they make to the needs of society. We call this the principle of reciprocity. Durkheim says:

> In a given society each object of exchange has, at each moment, a determined value which we might call its social value. It represents the quantity of useful labour which it contains. By that must be understood, not the integral labour which it might have cost, but that part of the energy capable of producing useful social effects, that is, effects which reply to normal needs. Although this magnitude cannot be mathematically calculated it is none the less real. It is easy to perceive the principal condition in relation to which it varies. They are, above all, the sum of efforts necessary to produce the object, the intensity of the needs which it satisfies, and finally the extent of the satisfaction it brings. In fact, it is around this point that average value oscillates. It deviates from it only under the influence of abnormal factors, and, in that case public conscience generally has a somewhat lively sentiment of deviations. It finds unjust every exchange where the price of the objects bears no relation to the trouble it costs and the services it renders...
>
> This definition set forth, we shall say that a contract is fully consented to only if the services exchanged have an equivalent social value. Under these conditions each receives in effect the thing he desires and delivers what he gives in return so that each has value for the other... If on the contrary, the values exchanged are not balanced, they can be put into equilibrium only if some external force has been thrown into the balance...
>
> In order that this equivalence be the rule for contracts it is necessary that the contracting parties be placed in conditions externally equal. Since the appreciation of things cannot be determined a priori, but comes out of exchanges themselves, the individuals who are exchanging must have no other force than that which comes from their

> social worth if their labour is to be properly evaluated ... All superiority has its effects on the manner in which contracts are made. If, then, it does not derive from the persons of the individuals, from their social services, it falsifies the moral conditions of exchange. If one class of society is obliged, in order to live, to take any price for its services, while another can abstain from such action thanks to resources at its disposal which, however, are not necessarily due to any social superiority, the second has an unjust advantage over the first at law. In other words, there cannot be rich and poor at birth without their being unjust contracts (*Division of Labour*, 1964:382).

We have quoted this long passage because of its importance to our argument. It highlights two dimensions of the forced division of labour, and it also highlights two important ingredients of the moral and normative order. These two dimensions of the forced division of labour seem to have been ignored in most of the secondary literature dealing with Durkheim. These two dimensions are aspects of force, one relating to a mismatch of position and ability, and the other from unequal exchanges between individuals or classes. It is this second dimension which we want to emphasise. Durkheim specifies two important features of the underlying morality of the division of labour in organic societies. The first is that the only justifiable inequality is one based upon natural talent, and the second is that social exchanges must be equal or reciprocal. This is an important moral basis of the division of labour, which requires that we fulfill our duty, that we work at the function we can best execute, and receive the just reward for our services (*Division of Labour*, 1964:407).

The implications of this argument by Durkheim are that as a result of association, individuals enforce upon each other a morality of equality of exchanges, where equal values are exchanged. This equality forms the basis of interaction, and is the factor around which cooperation oscillates. The consequences of this morality have

implications for the distribution of social rewards and contributions.

The question of just reward is considered by Durkheim in *Suicide*:

> As a matter of fact, at every moment of history there is a dim perception, in the moral consciousness of societies, of the respective value of different social services, the relative rewards due to each, and the consequent degree of comfort appropriate on the average to workers in each occupation. The different functions are graded in public opinion and a certain coefficient of well-being assigned to each, according to its place in the hierarchy (*Suicide*, 1951:249).

This regimen changes with the increase of collective revenue, and according to the moral ideas of society. However, Durkheim goes on to point out that the resolution of the question of the value of social contribution and rewards must be experienced as just. We take this to mean that the value of contributions and rewards must be based upon equality in accordance with the way in which equality is defined in terms of the exchange of equal values. If the scale of contributions and rewards are maintained by custom or force the harmony so achieved is illusory. The regimen of relative value of contribution and rewards can be disrupted by disasters or by the more or less abrupt growth in power and wealth:

> ... As the conditions of life are changed, the standard according to which needs were regulated can no longer remain the same; for it varies with social resources, since it largely determines the share of each class of producers. The scale is upset; but a new scale cannot be immediately improvised. Time is required for the public conscience to reclassify men and things. So long as the social forces thus freed have not regained equilibrium, their respective values are unknown and so all regulation is lacking for a time. The limits are unknown between the possible and the impossible, what is just and what is unjust, legitimate claims and hopes and those which are immoderate. Consequently there is no restraint upon aspirations. If the disturbance is

> profound, it affects even the principles controlling the distribution of men among various occupations. Since the relations between various parts of society are necessarily modified, the ideas expressing these relations must change. Some particular class especially favoured by the crisis is no longer resigned to its former lot, and, on the other hand, the example of its greater good fortune arouses all sorts of jealously below and about it. Appetites, not being controlled by a public opinion become disoriented, no longer recognise the limits proper to them (*Suicide*, 1951:249).

Durkheim recognises that there can be a break-down in social regulation when the recognised and accepted relationship between contributions and rewards changes. Durkheim is arguing that the basis of this regulation is a moral one, but that the morality fails when its basis is disrupted. In our study we will show how the basis upon which contributions and rewards have been organised has changed significantly between the 1920s and 1930s and the period from 1970 to the mid-1980s. According to Durkheim this is a potential source of a breakdown in regulation. This is a powerful idea which we want to explore further, but which we will defer in the meantime.

d. The Regulation of Industrial and Commercial Life

We will now return to the question of the regulation of industrial and commercial life, and to the relationships between capital and labour which are features of the anomic division of labour. It is important to define what Durkheim meant by anomie, and its relation to regulation in this context. The term regulation is used quite freely in the various texts and sometimes it bears different meanings. There are two main ways in which regulation, or the absence of regulation, called anomie, is used by Durkheim. He uses it to refer to the regulation of individuals in terms of norms and values, and also to the way in which various organs of society are regulated and brought into balance. It is this second usage that Durkheim had in mind when discussing

industrial and commercial crises and failures, and the relations between capital and labour. The major feature of industrial and commercial crises refers to the way in which production and consumption are adjusted to each other through the mechanism of the market. Durkheim recognises that the market allocates resources to different sectors of production and distributes the fruits of production to different social classes. Durkheim's argument is that this relationship is a moral relationship as well as an economic one. The lack of a moral regulation of production, distribution and consumption is one aspect of what Durkheim called anomie.

Capital and labour represent two distinct organs of society, and their relationship must be regulated in such a way that ensures that a just relationship exists, in which each class receives it just due. Regulation in this context means more than constraint, and in fact refers to the way in which the relationship of two functions, elements or organs are maintained in a state of balance. In other words, what accounts for the more or less long term stability of production and consumption or the relationship between capital and labour?

Durkheim has the following to say about the relationship between production and consumption in organised societies:

> ... as the organised type develops, the fusion of different segments draws the markets together into one which embraces almost all society. This even extends beyond, and tends to become universal, for the frontiers which separate peoples break down at the same time as those which separate the segments of each of them. The result is that each industry produces for consumers spread over the whole surface of the country or even the entire world. Contact is then no longer sufficient. The producer can no longer embrace the market in a glance, nor even in thought. He can no longer see its limits, since it is, so to speak, limitless. Accordingly production becomes unbridled and unregulated. It can only trust to chance, and in the course of these

> gropings, it is inevitable that proportions will be abused, as much in one direction as another. From this comes the crises which periodically disturb economic functions (*Division of Labour*, 1964:369-370).

The growth in the market and the unhinging of the relationship between production and consumption leads to the growth of industry which disrupts the relationship between capital and labour. Durkheim is drawing our attention to certain features of the social relations of society which must be regulated, but because of the changes taking place make social regulation problematic. He continues:

> As the market extends, great industry appears. But it results in changing the relations of employers and employees. The great strain upon the nervous system and the contagious influence of great agglomerations increase the needs of the latter. Machines replace men; manufacturing replaces hand-work. The worker is regimented, separated from his family throughout the day. He always lives apart from his employer, etc. These new conditions of industrial life naturally demand a new organisation, but as these changes have been accomplished with extreme rapidity, interests in conflict have not yet had the time to be equilibriated (*Division of Labour*, 1954:370).

The question which emerges out of this passage is "what is the basis of the balancing of the social relations between capital and labour?" We will return to this point shortly, and want now to consider the basis upon which we can consider the question of secondary regulation and integration. Before doing so we will summarise that part of Durkheim's theory which we call primary regulation.

e. Interim Summary

In organic societies a morality based upon the reciprocal relationship between contributions and rewards leads to the emergence of a division of labour where this morality

finds expression. This is a gradual developmental process, and along the way pathological forms emerge where there are imbalances between production and consumption, where reciprocity between contributions and rewards is disrupted, and where there are mismatches in terms of social location and abilities. In the struggle which arises the underlying morality enforces itself in the creation of new institutional forms in which inter alia the morality of reciprocity will find expression. In the interim period, which no doubt characterised conditions in France in Durkheim's time, there is a good deal of social disorganisation and lack of regulation. Durkheim's theory of primary regulation highlights the importance of the underlying morality which regulates the relationship between production and consumption, the relationship between capital and labour, the reciprocal relationship between contribution and rewards, and the matching of abilities and position within the division of labour. These are all social imperatives which are at the heart of the existence and emergence of under-classes, and the moral and normative order of those under-classes. The question remains as to whether the theory does no more than point to the issues which require regulation, or whether it in fact provides the basis of an effective theory of regulation?

f. Secondary Regulation and Integration

The other component which we must deal with is the theory of secondary regulation and integration. Our concern here is with the way in which individuals are regulated in the concrete activity of their lives, and the manner in which individuals are incorporated into or excluded from social activities in terms of the moral and normative order. One of the persistent themes of *Division of Labour* is the way in which the individual is progressively freed from the influence of the collective conscience. In societies dominated by mechanical

solidarity there is no room for individuality, but as the division of labour advances and the collective conscience loses its domination, a situation results which allows for the growth of individualism. The implications of this are that society envelops the individual less, and consequently cannot so easily restrain the divergent tendencies that occur (*Division of Labour*, 1964:297). Durkheim then says of the individual:

> He no longer finds the centre of his life and preoccupations so completely in the place where he lives. He is then less interested in his neighbours, since they take a smaller place in his life. Besides, the small city has less hold upon him for the very reason that his life is bursting that small shell, and his interests and affections are extending beyond it. For all these reasons, local public opinion weighs less heavily on each of us, and as the general opinion of society cannot replace its predecessor, not being able to watch closely the conduct of all its citizens, the collective surveillance is irretrievably loosened, the common conscience loses its authority, individual variability grows. In short, for social control to be rigorous and for the common conscience to be maintained, society must be divided into rather small compartments, completely enclosing the individual. Both weaken as these divisions are done away with (*Division of Labour*, 1964:300).

In this argument Durkheim is dealing with the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity, but the process contains the seeds of the dilemma of how individuals are to be integrated into collective life in the face of the advance of the division of labour, and subsequently the emergence of individualism. To be effective, secondary regulation as the moral and normative order is dependent upon the incorporation of individuals as participants into collective life. The weakening of mechanical solidarity, accompanied by the advance of organic solidarity raises the question of the appropriate institutional forms of social organisation which would take the place of the segmented organisation of mechanical society. At stake here are the institutional

forms which enforce the moral and normative order, the essence of secondary regulation.

One of the major problems during the transition period from mechanical to organic solidarity is the detachment of individuals from collective life because, according to Durkheim, the appropriate institutional forms regulated by a morality of reciprocity did not exist. Institutional forms are the bearers of social integration and where the institutional forms are inadequate, or have not emerged, then individuals are detached from collective life. This situation gives rise to what Durkheim called egoism, and much of the analysis in *Suicide* is concerned with this question of what we call secondary regulation. Our consideration of secondary regulation combines the questions of egoism and anomie (anomie in the sense of regulation through the moral and normative order). One of the recurring features of the vignettes set out in Chapter One was the apparently disorganised lives of those concerned and the fact that they were not integrated into family, or wider community collective life. In this situation the institutional forms were unable to enforce a moral and normative order upon the persons concerned. In our recasting of Durkheim's work, this is a problem of secondary regulation.[4] We do see that Durkheim has again at least identified an important ingredient of our problem.

g. The Duality of Human Nature and Secondary Regulation

The question of secondary regulation and integration, and the existence of crime, is closely related to Durkheim's theory of the duality of human nature, which we now introduce. This question is considered specifically in a paper written in 1914 (three years before Durkheim's death), but it seems that the themes dealt with in this paper were central themes in *Division of Labour*, *the Rules* and *Suicide*. Human nature according to Durkheim

consists of two elements, one of which is individual and derives from the biological nature of human life. The second element derives from society, and it is this element which provides the bond or link between the way in which the different organs of society are regulated, and how individuals are linked to the primary forms of regulation. This element deriving from society is a moral force, and amounts to an internalisation of the moral forces which are enforced upon individuals in their social life. Since the component of the dual nature deriving from biological nature tends to be limitless in its desires it is necessary for moral forces of society to regulate and constrain the individual dimension. In order to live a contented and happy life the individual needs to accept the reasonable constraints of society and to match needs to means. This involves accepting the limits imposed by society, but Durkheim accepts that in organic societies it is well nigh impossible to expect all individuals to accept the constraints imposed by society if they are enforced by custom or force, and if the balance between reciprocal contributions and rewards is violated. The lack of regulation amounts to anomie, which we have considered above. There is also a secondary form of anomie corresponding to secondary regulation which relates to the way in which individuals are regulated in their everyday concrete activities. This is referred to as a state of normlessness in the secondary literature, and often seems to be the only form of anomie recognised in the secondary literature. On the other hand the abnormal growth of individualism which frees individuals from the influence of the collective conscience amounts to egoism. These two conditions are quite close, and derive from a breakdown in the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity. However, they express different dimensions of the pathological development of the division of labour.

h. A Summary of Durkheim's Theory of Social Solidarity

We are now in a position to summarise Durkheim's theory of social solidarity in an organic society. Social solidarity has two components, namely regulation and integration. Regulation comprises two forms, namely primary and secondary regulation. The primary form involves the adjustment and regular operation of the different elements of society so that they are brought into a regular and stable relationship. The agency of this harmonisation is the underlying morality based around notions of reciprocity, fairness and justice. Because those moral forces are the underlying reality of social life, social institutions will emerge which reflect reciprocity. The major elements identified here by Durkheim are the relationships between production and consumption and between capital and labour. Social struggles which characterise social life oscillate around equalising the value of social contributions and rewards. According to Durkheim, the trajectory of change was moving towards a stable regulation based upon reciprocal contributions and rewards, and the matching of natural talent and social task. Secondary regulation involves the regulation of individuals in their day-to-day lives through the norms and values of society so that they are integrated into the institutional forms of society. The crucial issue here is the creation of appropriate institutional forms capable of incorporating individuals into the collective life of society so that the institutional forms can enforce the moral and normative order, which derives from the forces of primary regulation.

Integration into social institutions is linked to the forces of primary regulation via the theory of human nature. Human nature comprises two elements, where one element is derived from the individual and is biological in origin, and the other element derives from society. One of the themes of the *Division of Labour* is the growth

of individualism. This is the source of a dilemma of how the individual, comprised of two elements, one of which is individual and biological in nature and tending to insatiability, can be subordinated to the second element which derives from society. This is dependent upon individuals internalising the reasonable limitations of society. However, where social regulation violated notions of reciprocity of the value of contributions and rewards and the matching of natural talent and social task, social integration becomes a problem. What norms and values would an individual internalise? As far as we can see Durkheim never really considered this problem explicitly, but he implicitly seems to offer it as an explanation for pathological conditions such as crime. We will consider shortly the implications of this theory of regulation for our problem of persistent offending and imprisonment, the existence of under-classes and a predatory moral and normative order.

i. Durkheim's Theory of Crime and Deviance

The subjects of the law, crime and punishment were widely discussed by Durkheim, but mainly in the context of methodological questions, and as a means of studying the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity. According to Durkheim's argument in *Division of Labour*[5] repressive laws accompanied mechanical societies, whereas restitutive laws are the appropriate form of law for the regulation of organic societies. Durkheim argued that crime in organic societies, as in mechanical societies, was social in origin. The immediate social explanation of crime concerned the problem of secondary regulation, but we argue that secondary regulation is governed by the primary regulation of production and consumption.

It is necessary to mention again the persistent theme of the *Division of Labour*, that as the collective conscience loses its hold space is created for the emergence of

individualism. In this changed situation the problem of gaining the commitment of individuals is compromised under the conditions of a forced division of labour. As we have pointed out, the forced division of labour is characterised by a mismatch of natural talent and location within the division of labour, and by violations of the reciprocity of the value of contributions and rewards (*Division of Labour*, 1964:375,383-384). These pathological conditions of the division of labour create the social conditions for egoism, which is the form malintegration of individuals takes, or the breakdown of secondary regulation arising from an absence of stable and clear-cut norms.

The existence of crime is explained by the dual aspects of human nature, and the breakdown of integration (egoism) and secondary regulation. The dual nature of human nature derives from the two components making up the individual, the biological element characterised by insatiability and the constraining element which is social in origin. In this situation society provides the breaks upon, and sets the limits to, this insatiability. Secondary regulation is compromised in the transition to a spontaneous division of labour, particularly when production and consumption and the relations of capital and labour adjust to each other in this transition period. Where the division of labour is forced, and there are inequalities in the relationship between contributions and rewards, and mismatches between abilities and position within the division of labour, then the probabilities are that individuals will not commit themselves to the moral and normative order, and the rates of criminal activity are likely to increase.[6]

The problem of persistent offending and imprisonment would be explained by Durkheim in several steps. The first would concern an analysis of the division of labour in an attempt to identify whether there was evidence of

inequality in the relationship between contributions and rewards, which might explain the existence of an under-class. The next step would involve a consideration of the relationship between production and consumption, and as we have noted in Chapter One production and consumption patterns have changed in the period between 1920 and the present. Durkheim recognised that this situation could disrupt the moral and normative order, which might be unable to regulate insatiable appetites in the changed situation. In this situation expectations outstrip the institutional forms of society. It is a disjuncture between expectations and desires on the one hand and social institutions on the other, arising out of changed patterns of production and consumption, which holds the clue to an explanation according to Durkheim of a problem such as persistent offending within an under-class. We will now consider whether in fact the theory provides an effective means for the analysis of these issues, even though it appears to identify the issues which are at stake.[7]

j. An Assessment of the Theory of Social Solidarity and the Theory of Crime and Deviance as Explanations of Persistent Offending and Imprisonment, and the Existence of an Under-class and a Predatory Moral and Normative Order

Our problem is one of persistent offending and imprisonment related to the existence of under-classes, and a predatory moral and normative order. Durkheim's theory of regulation is concerned with the regulation of the relationship between production and consumption, the relationship between capital and labour, the reciprocal relationship between contributions and rewards, and the matching of abilities with position in the division of labour. We refer to these issues as primary regulation. In addition Durkheim is concerned with the integration of individuals into the institutional forms of society

through the moral and normative order. We have called this secondary regulation. The question of an under-class is related to the relation between capital and labour, and we saw in Chapter One how the character of the under-class has changed in the period between 1920 and the present. Social classes form around the stresses and tensions in the relations between capital and labour. In the vignettes we noted the importance placed upon consumption, and we noted from our brief outline of the history of offending how this emphasis upon consumption had changed. Durkheim deals with the changing nature of consumption, pointing out that when the relationship between production and consumption changes it disrupts the regulation of consumption by changing expectations. It takes time for the moral order to recompose the social institutions and so bring the relationship between production and consumption back into balance (*Suicide*, 1951:249). We also noted the predatory moral and normative order which regulated the lives of those profiled in the vignettes. We can see that Durkheim's theory at least deals with all of the questions which are relevant to our inquiry. The question is whether the answers given by Durkheim are adequate.

There is an irreconcilable contradiction or circulatory problem with the way in which Durkheim perceives social reality. This perception is concerned with the relationship between the moral and normative order and social institutions. Durkheim accorded priority to the moral and normative order. We showed that, for Durkheim, a morality of reciprocity is the source of social institutions, which emerges and shapes those institutions. The anomic and forced divisions of labour are temporary pathological conditions which generate breakdowns in the moral and normative order. However, what is the source of a predatory moral and normative order, which we noted regulated the lives of those profiled in the vignettes? Is it sufficient to claim that it is a pathological

condition through which societies pass as they develop a spontaneous division of labour? Is it a temporary aberration which will be overcome by the creation of the appropriate social institutions? The other question is "what regulates or governs the transition to the spontaneous division of labour?" The answer Durkheim provides is that the underlying moral order based upon reciprocity will somehow or other be reflected in the institutions which will ultimately be created. It is in this area where the irreconcilable dilemma exists in Durkheim's theory. Morality is the source of social institutions, but why do pathological conditions exist, and how or why do we have predatory moral and normative orders? If a predatory moral and normative order exists, how might it be changed? There do not seem to be any answers to these dilemmas within Durkheim's theory.

We would accept Durkheim's argument that a morality based upon the reciprocal value of contributions and rewards is an ingredient of social organisation. Indeed we would argue that this is a universal feature of social life, in that social interaction oscillates around the enforcement of a reciprocal value of contributions and rewards. Rewards in this context means more than material rewards, and includes intangible benefits such as status, prestige, social recognition and respect. The question arises as to the theoretical status of this morality. Is it an ideal category which imposes itself upon social institutions? In other words, are ideas the primary mechanism which account for the manner in which social activities become crystallised into social institutions? The other theoretical problem concerns the basis of the value of contributions and rewards. We will attempt to reformulate Durkheim's idealist bias next by a consideration of a materialist position.

The alternative materialist position is that even though a morality of equality of the value of contribution and

rewards is an ingredient of social struggles, the source of the struggle and the institutions which emerge out of that struggle, is not primarily the moral ideas themselves. Under this alternative formulation the focus is the material activity in which persons are engaged. At a very general level of abstraction, universal features of human existence, such as production and consumption along with reproduction, are the focus of attention. These social imperatives are resolved socially, and in doing so individual agents impact upon each other, and notions of what each should or should not contribute and what the rewards should be emerge out of this interaction. These notions then become essential ingredients of societal morality. We think that in this alternative formulation it is possible to recognise the vital nature of moral forces, but at the same time it does not accord them priority in the way that Durkheim does.

One of the problems with making the moral forces themselves the primary focus is that it becomes difficult to ascertain the trajectory of development of the morality. Why, for example, does a morality based upon the reciprocal valuation of contributions and rewards emerge to under-pin the division of labour? Again, why does labour become the basis of value? Is this a universal feature or is it limited to commodity-producing societies? Another important consideration is what regulates social activity where a morality of reciprocity is violated, or indeed how might we measure when reciprocity is violated? The only way in which these questions can be answered adequately is by looking at material activity, and studying that activity in terms of the social imperatives it is aimed at accomplishing. This approach gives full weight to the intentional nature of human activity, without at the same time making intentionality the determining feature of social life. Under this formulation, when focussing upon production

and consumption which perpetuates social life one can see that the crucial issues are the degree of effort required which individuals must expend, the degree of benefit involved and the nature of the reward received. These are also moral questions which cannot be asked adequately, let alone answered, unless the totality of the material social activity is analysed. An idealist stance runs the risk of narrowing the scope of inquiry, and we accordingly reject the idealist position adopted by Durkheim.

The second question concerns the basis of the valuation of contributions and rewards. Durkheim in *Division of Labour* (1964:382) identified three components of value which equate with labour, the degree of effort expended and the social utility of the object or service produced or provided. This definition is remarkably similar, although not identical to Marx's labour theory of value. Like Marx's theory it notes that the source of value is labour, and like Marx's theory it recognises that if the labour is to count as value it must be socially necessary. The theory lacks any notion of exploitation, unlike that of Marx's theory, which found an exploitative social relation existed under the capitalist wage relation. Durkheim denied that it was possible to mathematically measure the magnitude of value, although it is real nevertheless. We might say at this stage that Marx argued that a significant amount of labour could be, and is measurable, but one must concede to Durkheim that a significant amount of labour (for example, domestic labour) is not mathematically measurable. However, one of the changes which has occurred within capitalism is that more and more dimensions of labour are drawn into the domain of quantification. One of the most important examples for our purposes is the increased scope of monetised recreation and leisure, particularly in the period since the 1920s and 1930s.[8]

One of the major problems with Durkheim's arguments about the relationship between morality and equality of exchanges is that it provides no basis for quantifying the extent to which a morality of equality had been violated. This means that it is difficult, if not impossible, to study the moral underpinning of primary regulation in terms of the relationships between production and consumption and between capital and labour in any systematic way within the confines of the theory itself. In particular it provides no basis for measuring whether contributions and rewards are in fact reciprocal. Our view is that Durkheim has provided a suggestive basis for studying the question of primary regulation, but we need to develop a theory which can quantify the nature of the relationship between production and consumption and the relationship between capital and labour.

Clarke seems to share these concerns when he says:

> Precisely the same problems confronted Durkheim's later attempt to purge Comte's positivism of its speculative elements in developing his comparable critique of Spencer's liberalism. Durkheim too contrasted the 'anomie' of pure self-interest with the moral character of the individualism of a properly regulated capitalist society, which he saw as a spontaneous development of the division of labour, to be fostered by institutional and educational reforms. Although he eliminated the religion of positivism to put more faith in institutional reform he was no more able than Comte to specify the content of that morality nor the means by which that content was elaborated socially (Clarke, 1982:121).

Durkheim's theory of what we have called primary regulation is of value to us in so far as it highlights those aspects of social life which are central to our concern of persistent offending. These are the existence of an under-class and a predatory moral and normative order. These issues are linked to the relationship between production and consumption, the relationship between capital and labour, the relationship between con-

tribution and rewards, and the matching of abilities and position within the division of labour. However, as we have argued above the substantive content of the theory is restricted and limited, which means that we must look elsewhere for a satisfactory theory to analyse the problem we have identified. This is the relationship between production and consumption on the one hand, and a predatory moral and normative order on the other which was hinted at in the vignettes of those profiled in Chapter One.

We noted how the pattern of consumption changed between 1920 and the present, and according to Durkheim this is something which might disturb the moral regulation of society. However, as we have observed there is no way in which we can analyse the changing nature of the relationship between production, consumption and the moral and normative order. We turn now to the work of Robert Merton to see if his theory makes any advances on Durkheim.

3. A Critique of Merton

In our discussion of Merton we will rely upon his 'Social Structure and Anomie' which formed part of his 'Social Theory and Social Structure' (1968). Merton argues that recent developments in social theory have undermined the notion of human beings characterised by biological impulses at war with social structures. His polemic is primarily directed at Freud, but it is a criticism that could be directed at Durkheim. Merton's thesis in the paper is that social structure exerts a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in non-conforming rather than conforming conduct. This non-conforming conduct stems not from biological factors, but is a response to social conditions.

Merton draws a distinction between cultural structures which carry the socially approved aims and aspirations of society, and the social structure which sets the institutional limits for the satisfaction of culturally approved goals and aims. One of the problems according to Merton, is that the cultural goals vary independently of the degree of emphasis upon institutional means. Merton then formulates a thesis that aberrant behaviour may be regarded sociologically as a symptom of dis-association between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing those aspirations. He then concentrates upon a society in which the major emphasis is placed upon the goals at the expense of the institutional means of achieving those goals. Such a society is modern United States. He describes the disparity in the following way:

> With such differential emphases upon goals and institutional procedures, the latter may be so vitiated by the stress on goals as to have the behaviour of many individuals limited only by considerations of technical expediency. In this context, the sole significant question becomes: Which of the available procedures is most efficient in netting the culturally approved value? The technically most effective procedures, whether culturally legitimate or not, becomes typically preferred to institutionally prescribed conduct. As this process of attenuation continues, the society becomes unstable and there develops what Durkheim called 'anomie' (or normlessness) (Merton, 1968:128).

The anomie which Merton identifies is the result of the emphasis placed in American society upon monetary success and the means of achieving that success.

> To say that the goal of monetary success is entrenched in American culture is only to say that Americans are bombarded on every side by the precepts which affirm the right or, often, the duty of retaining the goal even in the face of repeated frustrations. Prestigeful representatives of the society reinforce the cultural emphasis. The family, the school and the workplace - the major agencies shaping the personality structure and goal

> formation of Americans - join to provide the intensive disciplining required if an individual is to retain intact a goal that remains elusively beyond reach, if he is to be motivated by the promise of gratification which is not redeemed... Central to this process of disciplining people to maintain their unfulfilled aspirations are the cultural prototypes of success, the living documents testifying that the American Dream can be realized if one but has the requisite abilities (Merton, 1968:130).

Merton then sets out his five types of adaptation to the cultural goal of monetary success which pervades American society. To this we would add many capitalist societies, including New Zealand. These adaptations are conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion. We are concerned mainly with the second adaptation, innovation. Merton notes that a wide range of social groups engage in innovation, but he concentrates upon, and argues that there is a pressure for those located in the lower segments of society to innovate as a result of the disjuncture between goals and means:

> Given the American stigmatization of manual labour *which has been found to hold uniformly in all social classes,* and the absence of realistic opportunities for advancement beyond this level, the result is a marked tendency towards deviant behaviour. The status of unskilled labour and the consequent low income cannot readily compete in terms of established standards of worth with the promise of power and high income from organised vice, rackets and crime (emphasis in the original) (Merton, 1968:136).

Merton goes on to point out that this situation exhibits two salient features. First, incentives for success are provided by the established values of the culture and second, the avenues available for moving towards this goal are limited by the class structure. It is a combination of the cultural emphasis and the social structure which produces intense pressure for deviation.

In the first chapter and in the lives of the persons profiled in the vignettes we pointed to the existence of an under-class who shared a predatory moral and normative order, some of whom became enmeshed in persistent offending and imprisonment. Merton's theory offers us an explanation about how we might understand the predatory moral and normative order. The source of the predatory moral and normative order is in the disjuncture between cultural values, such as the modern norms of consumption, and the structural limitations involved in engaging in this modern form of consumption. Merton points to a tendency which is the product of the disruption between the goal of monetary success and the means of achieving that goal. The question arises as to whether Merton's explanation of what we will call the predatory potential of society is adequate. We think that, like Durkheim's theory, Merton's theory provides a useful platform upon which we can develop a more solid theory which links crime and deviance to primary and secondary regulation.

The strength of Merton's theory is that it identifies the existence of a predatory potential in modern capitalist societies. It provides, however, no satisfactory way in which we can study the class structure of society in a way which will link it to the relationship between production and consumption, or to the relationship between capital and labour. We need to be able to explain why monetary success becomes, if in fact it does, a pre-eminent cultural goal rather than being taken for granted. It seems important to us also to be able to study the linkage between monetary success and the modes of production and consumption, which is not possible under Merton's theory remaining as it does at the level of secondary regulation. This means that we need to return to the themes of primary regulation which we discussed in relation to Durkheim.

4. The New Criminology

Before returning to the theme of primary regulation, however, we want to look briefly at the new criminology to see whether it provides us with any help in resolving our theoretical problem. We have reached the point where we have identified the spheres of social activity, the regulation of which are important to us. The new criminology originated with the work of Taylor, Walton and Young (1973).[9] A substantial body of literature developed in the 1950s and 1960s, including the labelling tradition, some of which draws upon the work of Durkheim and also developed the insights of Merton. Labelling theory was influenced far more by the deviance theory which was developed at Chicago and the symbolic interactionist tradition stemming from Mead (1982) and Cooley (1967). This literature is analysed in Taylor, Walton and Young's classic critique, and there is no need for us to repeat what these authors have so ably done already. They argued for a theory of deviance and crime which was social in nature and which returned to the foundations of social theory, that is, to the theoretical roots of the discipline in order to develop a criminology which was able to critique social organisation and at the same time provide a basis for a new criminological practice. Taylor, Walton and Young (1973) made some proposals for this new practise which now seem rather naive, and then enlarged upon these in 1974, but we should not underestimate the significant break and advance their work represented at the time. The 1973 work gave rise to a wide ranging debate which still persists, but which has unfortunately made little progress. Many of those who participated in the new criminology debate contributed to a collection of essays recently published by the Cambridge Studies in Criminology edited by Lowman, Menzies and Palys (1989). These essays traverse much of the debate which has taken place since 1973. The essays reveal, however, that little real

progress has been achieved in creating a theoretical framework which advances the establishment of a dominant paradigm for the new criminology beyond the formulations of Taylor, Walton and Young in 1973. We hope that by returning to Durkheim and having identified a basis upon which to build a theory, and by then refining this through an examination of Merton's theory of anomie we might advance the theoretical basis for understanding the problem of persistent offending.

5. A Theory of Primary Regulation

In this section an outline of our theory of primary regulation will form the basis of our analysis. Our consideration of primary regulation is concerned with the question of how under-classes develop and change, with the relationship between production and consumption, with the relationship between contribution and rewards, and the relationship between abilities and location within the division of labour. Secondary regulation, which we consider in Chapter Six, deals with the moral and normative order which integrates individuals into the institutional forms of society.

We made the point earlier that Durkheim argued that the valuation of contributions and rewards could not be made on the basis of mathematical measurement. However, Marx's labour theory of value is an attempt to quantify some of the labour which is socially necessary to produce the means of existence, and we will adopt the labour theory of value as our point of departure. One point which should be made is that not all labour is the subject of quantification, however, with domestic labour being the major example of non-valorised labour. We will note in our study, however, how more and more spheres of social life are subjected to valorised labour. The important point we will make is that labour becomes the source of value in commodity-producing societies only

because of the contradiction between the private production of use values which become social in an exchange process. We will outline what this involves in Chapter Three, which will clarify what the issues are for a theory of primary regulation under capitalism.

Durkheim's theory of solidarity drew our attention to two aspects of primary regulation, these being the relationship between production and consumption, and the relationship between capital and labour. Marx's principal concern was with production, and almost incidentally with consumption, which was often referred to as the reproduction of labour power. The problem with this has been that the sphere of consumption, and in particular recreation and leisure, has not received a great deal of attention in the Marxist tradition. One exception to this is the regulation school which is based in France, and which was introduced to English speaking audiences through Aglietta's work on capitalism in the United States (Aglietta, 1979). In our next chapter we will review the basis of the regulation approach. At this point we will outline the thesis upon which the research is based and which we will defend.

6. The Theoretical Status of the Predatory Potential and the Exclusion Tendency

Our problem is concerned with persistent offending and imprisonment, and we noted that persistent offenders were drawn from an under-class who subscribed to and shared a predatory moral and normative order. Through a critique of Durkheim and Merton's work we have been able to identify the spheres of social life which are implicated in the existence of under-classes and predatory moral and normative orders. However, these theories on their own are not adequate.

The thesis upon which this research is based is that there are twin features which lie at the heart of persistent offending and imprisonment and the existence of under-classes and predatory moral and normative orders. These are the predatory potential of society and the exclusion tendency. The predatory potential expresses the potential which exists in society for violations of the relationship between contributions and rewards. The exclusion tendency expresses a tendency for social forces to exclude persons from participation in the wage relation and the mode of consumption. These two features are closely linked, but each has its own specificity and independence of the other. Merton identified the predatory potential of American society in terms of the disjuncture between cultural goals and institutional means. He argued that crime rates were high when some persons were excluded from achieving the culturally prescribed goals due to the institutional organisation of society. As we indicated in our consideration of Merton, this is a powerful idea, but one which needs modification and elaboration in that Merton had no explanation as to why the cultural goals and institutional organisation took the form they did. The predatory potential is an expression of the extent to which the forces of primary and secondary regulation admit the potential for predatory activity. This can never be specified a priori, but must be analysed in each situation.

The exclusion tendency is primarily concerned with the way in which under-classes are formed, and relates to the way in which social reproduction for the mass of society under capitalism depends upon two structural features. The first is participation in waged work through the wage relation. The second is the organisation of consumption in private and individual households as independent consumption units, linked to other social activities, usually through the wage relation. The organisation of

households in private and independent units has implications for the limits and nature of social obligations and benefits which we will try to make more obvious in due course.

Both the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency are governed by three features. The first of these is the degree of precariousness of the wage relation. This relates to (a) whether the wage relation is incorporating or excluding persons in relation to the population eligible to participate in waged work, (b) the relationship between skill requirements of the labour process and the skill and competency levels available, and (c) the intensification of the labour process in relation to the norms of labour intensity that wage-earners deem acceptable. The precariousness of the wage relation bears most directly upon the exclusion tendency. The exclusion tendency then affects the intensity of the predatory potential of society, both of which are related to the operation of primary and secondary regulation.

The second feature which affects the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency is the level of social fluidity. Social fluidity bears most directly upon the predatory potential of society, but does have implications for the exclusion tendency. We define social fluidity in relation to firstly, the extent to which monetary exchange regulates social activities, and secondly, the extent to which the regulation of social activities is shifted from the regulation of collective participatory activities to the regulation of activities based upon the private and individual control of use values. The question of social fluidity is most important in the sphere of recreation and leisure. Throughout the entire period we are concerned with, the organisation of recreation and leisure has been an important point of interaction between the police and the under-class. The increasing monetisation of recreation

and leisure has increased the potential for the predatory organisation in this sphere. The reproduction of these predatory social relations are a fruitful source of crime.

The third feature, which bears most directly upon the predatory potential of society, but like social fluidity has implications for the exclusion tendency, is the nature of inter-generational relations. This refers to the manner in which the activities of the emerging generation are regulated by the established generation. The aim here is to study the social relations in which the established generation regulates the actions of the emerging generation within the sphere of what we generally call consumption activities. For example, in the period of the 1920s and 1930s the emerging generation were regulated in terms of (a) the domestic division of labour, (b) the mutual dependence of adult wage-earners upon adolescent wage-earners to contribute to the monetised consumption of the household, and (c) the dependence of adolescents upon the established generation for shelter. These means of regulation were substantially changed in the period after 1955, resulting in breakdowns in the forms of secondary regulation which had operated in the 1920s and 1930s. The breakdown in these forms of primary regulation increased the predatory potential of New Zealand society.

The forces of primary regulation determine the content and nature of the social institutions which mediate the moral and normative order guiding the activities of individuals. This is the sphere of secondary regulation and the subject of our concern in Chapter Six.

In the 1920s and 1930s predatory activity was largely restricted to those living squalid and sordid lives as a result of the inadequacy of the means of consumption. However, during this period the exclusion tendency was

high as a result of changes to the regime of accumulation which was transforming the wage relation. The depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s aggravated this situation. The moral and normative order was dominated by two strands of puritanism, a dominant one which enforced a morality of conformity and condemned any violations of the contribution norms of society, and another which advocated values of liberal humanism. The moral and normative order was mediated by social institutions which were able to enforce this order against all but the most marginal. The combination of these features of social organisation meant that the predatory potential of society was low, and even although the exclusion tendency operated at a high level of intensity, the crime rates remained within modest limits compared with the period since the mid-1960s to at least the mid-1980s.

In the period between 1945 and 1955 the predatory potential remained quite stable, although there were signs of an increasing social fluidity affecting the predatory potential, which together with the exclusion tendency, operated at a mild level of intensity. In this period the crime rate was quite stable, and if anything tended to fall. There was also a tendency for the age of offenders to fall, reflecting a change in the way in which the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency were operating in this period.

Between 1955 and 1970 the predatory potential increased considerably as a result of the more fluid nature of society, and as a result of the loosening in inter-generational relations. The exclusion tendency operated at a relatively mild level of intensity, although there were signs towards the end of the 1960s of a tightening in the availability of work for manual labouring sectors of the labour force. From 1955 to 1970 rates of crime for violence and dishonesty offending increased substantially. The increasing fluidity and changing inter-

generational relations weakened the puritan moral and normative order, and this also contributed to the predatory potential in this period.

The current period between 1970 and at least the mid-1980s, has been characterised by accelerating crime rates, the predatory potential of society has increased significantly and the exclusion tendency operates at a high level of intensity. The twin features of an intense predatory potential and exclusion tendency are a volatile mixture, where the probabilities for sustained and possibility increasing rates of crime are high. In this period the dominant normative order is one of consumerism mediated by a service class who have the capacity for over-consumption. The normative order of consumerism is pervasive in society and has been adopted by the predatory under-class. In this period market regulation is the dominant form of social regulation, weakening the institutions required to mediate a puritan moral and normative order.

This analysis makes it possible for us to consider the changing nature of the imprisonment-offending cycle of persistent offenders in the different periods, and to pose the question of the likely trajectory of change of the imprisonment-offending cycle.

It is necessary at this point to deepen the nature of our investigation by adopting a more concrete level of analysis. In order to study the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency and their interaction, we must study the two structural features which stand at the heart of the predatory potential and exclusion tendency. These are firstly, the linkage between production and consumption through the wage relation and secondly, the private and individual organisation of households setting limits to social obligation and benefit. In order to do this we must study the regime of accumulation, and the

way in which this bears upon the modes of production and consumption. In this approach we adopt the theoretical position advocated by the French regulation school.[10]

Notes

1. Fenton (1984:1-3) outlines the changing way in which Durkheim's work has been used, ranging from a conservative image of society, to questions of function and to widespread use in deviance theory. In the sphere of deviance there has also been a range of ways in which Durkheim has been interpreted.

2. In other words we disagree with those theorists who claim that the collective conscience has no content (Garland, in Garland and Young, 1983:48-52).

3. According to Fenton, Durkheim's secondary groups were limited to the sphere of production, and apparently no consideration was given to regulation of consumption, particularly the sphere of recreation and leisure (Fenton, 1984:77-78). One of the major developments of modern capitalist societies is the expansion of the range of consumption and the reorganisation of recreation and leisure. There are a number of studies which indicate that the realm of consumption has become the major preoccupation of ordinary life, and this sphere of social life is something which we consider important (Goldthorpe et al, 1968; Seabrook, 1985 and 1988). We have drawn attention to the importance of consumption and the emphasis upon recreation and leisure in the lives of those profiles in the vignettes. Durkheim on the other hand seemed to treat the sphere of consumption in an unproblematic way, although he did clearly recognise the moral implications of consumption. He felt that there must be limits to consumption, these limits being imposed by society. He recognised that if there was an expansion

in the volumes produced this could disturb the accepted morality of the reasonable limits of consumption (*Suicide*, 1951:249-250). Because the focus is limited to the realm of morality, the theory provides no basis upon which we can study why production volumes increased, and why the patterns of consumption expanded and thereby increased expectations.

4. Goldthorpe et al (1968) highlight the way in which privatisation and instrumentalism have become major features of working class life in the period since 1945. These characteristics of social life are closely related to the notion of egoism to which Durkheim drew our attention. These features of social life are a negation of a morality of interdependence, and violate any notion of a moral, stable and secure social context. Although the study carried out by Goldthorpe et al is important in revealing the core ingredients of the value structure of working class life in Britain in the period following the second world war, there is no convincing explanation as to why these values and expectations are so central to the regulation of working class life. We regard it as an important task for us to try and explain the underlying basis of the change in these values, expectations and aspirations.

Goldthorpe, in another paper (Goldthorpe, 1969), argued that modern industrial relations were characterised by anomie. The lack of moral regulation originated in the inequalities which existed in a number of features of the wage relation. Goldthorpe argued that stable industrial relations were unlikely in the absence of a moral regulation based upon inequality. This paper by Goldthorpe is one of the few examples of the use of Durkheim which emphasises the importance of inequality in Durkheim's work and draws upon much the same themes as we have done in our reading of Durkheim. However, like Durkheim's own work Goldthorpe provides no way in which

we might evaluate the way in which moral regulation was violated, and what in fact did regulate industrial relations in Britain in the 1960s in the obvious absence of equality, apart from the rather vague reference to inequality. Our study will attempt to quantify and measure the effects of changes in the regime of accumulation, the wage relation and the mode of consumption, in which the struggle between capital and labour over industrial relations occurs, rather than consider the issue as simply a moral one. However, we do not wish to challenge the importance of the moral questions highlighted in Durkheim and Goldthorpe.

5. One of the recurrent features of the vignettes was the lack of secondary regulation and integration in the lives of the persons profiled. Many of the persons concerned did not participate in collective life, and they were free from the regulation, direction and control of the established generation. They also engaged in what we called predatory activities, and few of them were more than spasmodic participants in waged work. There was also an emphasis upon consumption which highlighted monetary recreation and leisure. These features combine both breaches of primary and secondary regulation, but it is secondary regulation which is the focus here. This is often referred to as normlessness, in the sense that there are no recognised norms regulating activity. There is a whole secondary literature reviewed by Reiner (Reiner in Fenton, 1984) which has drawn upon Durkheim to study these sorts of problems, as a problem of normlessness, and we will consider one of the most fruitful of these developments in the work of Merton (1968). However, there have been a number of studies which have used Durkheim's theory of secondary regulation without reference to the questions of primary regulation. The problem is seen as one of a breakdown of community standards, or the failure of persons to adapt to the imperatives of society. One of the important differences

between offending patterns in the 1920s and 1930s compared with the period between 1970 and 1985 is the age of the offenders and the nature of the offending. Offending is now concentrated upon property violation, whereas in the earlier period it involved disorder by older men. One of the major concerns in the present pattern is why young persons do not seem to be under the same degree of control, and are apparently free from the direction and control of the established generation. The problem of secondary regulation cannot be posed simply within the realm of norms. Reiner (in Fenton, 1984) reviews the secondary literature which treats the ingredients of offending in terms of what we have called secondary regulation, and shows how they have in fact distorted Durkheim by focussing on anomie as normlessness at the level of secondary regulation only. The implication of the arguments in this secondary literature, according to Reiner, is the remaking of community in terms of values and norms of a past era. Reiner refers to what he calls 'bowdlerized' Durkheim, which ignores the potentially radical dimensions of Durkheim's thought. This is relevant and important in the context of contemporary New Zealand society, where the market form of social regulation is becoming more pervasive, weakening the institutions which mediated the moral and normative order of the 1920s and 1930s. Neo-conservative influences call for a reassertion of traditional moral values, but the institutional basis for the enforcement of these values does not exist. Durkheim argued that it was not possible to revert to a former system of social order and a moral order must be constructed out of what exists. The implications of this is that a moral order must be built out of a market regulated society. These are themes which we explore in detail in the remainder of the text. For an example of a neo-conservative appeal see the Christchurch Press, Monday 16 April 1990, where the Member of Parliament for

Ashburton Mrs Shipley called for the introduction of the teaching of spiritual values in the education system.

6. The case method advocated by the Justice Department in its submissions to the Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into The Prison System, 1988 is an example of an individualistic approach. The changes recently announced in the media concerning the operation of prisons confirms this approach. See the Christchurch Press, 30 November 1989.

7. The criminal justice system, in retaining the case method treatment model, have either consciously or unconsciously placed emphasis upon the need to control the criminal tendencies of people, which is tantamount to an acceptance of the duality of human nature found in Durkheim. In other words the problem of crime and persistent offending is understood as a problem of integration, rather than primary or secondary regulation. We will argue that this policy is misguided. Taylor, Walton and Young (1973:89) highlight the weakness of Durkheim's reliance upon the relationship between the duality of human nature and the need for social regulation, and we accept this criticism.

8. In later work Durkheim wrote a great deal about socialism, and was critical of Marxism. According to Giddens (1978:54) Durkheim studied Marx's writings after he had written *Division of Labour*. It is interesting that Durkheim did not reconsider his position on socialism given the closeness of his theory of value to Marx's labour theory of value.

9. Taylor, Walton and Young (1973) in their discussion of Durkheim place considerable weight upon the relationship between crime and the mismatch of talent under the forced division of labour. However, they do not mention the inequality of exchange as a factor

contributing to the discontent of the working class, and a potential source in the breakdown of the moral and normative order, thereby contributing to the level of crime in a society. Taylor, Walton and Young (1973) argue that three types of deviant or criminal can be identified as emerging out of Durkheim's theory. These are the biological deviant, the functional rebel and the skewed deviant. These authors argue that Durkheim relied heavily, as we have suggested, upon the theory of the duality of human nature in his explanation of crime and deviance, notwithstanding his recognition that there was a complex relationship between human subjectivity and social conditions. In this explanation Durkheim treats the transitory nature of the division of labour which was manifested in an anomic and/or forced division of labour as unable to control the insatiability of human desires.

The biological deviant is the individual who is deviant even though the ideal organic society existed. The biological deviant is a recognition of the likelihood that some persons would deviate from the norms of society even though the society is in all respects properly regulated, balanced and adjusted. The functional rebel is the person who rebels against the established order which represents the true collective conscience. The third type of deviant is described in an unusual way as the skewed deviant. The description of skewed deviant is a product of the distortion in the division of labour deriving from two sources, namely anomie and egoism. Some of the persons profiled in the vignettes are skewed deviants in this sense, in so far as they allowed their appetites to have free reign. 'In such circumstances, individuals strive to achieve their egoistic desires in a way that is incompatible with the social order and incommensurate with their biologically given abilities' (Taylor, Walton and Young, 1973:85).

Most of the secondary literature deals with the skewed deviant, but as Taylor, Walton and Young point out this literature fails to recognise that the skewed deviants are products of abnormal social organisations. Taylor, Walton and Young argue that in an imperfect society characterised by a forced division of labour, explanations of deviant behaviour would be almost exclusively and predominantly social. That is, a social explanation would be required of the forces that made for a lack of regulation characterising the anomic situation (Taylor, Walton and Young, 1973:86).

Taylor, Walton and Young (1973) go on to argue that there are several conceptual levels in Durkheim's theory which are often confused in the deviance literature. But we suggest that there are also conceptual problems with Taylor, Walton and Young's treatment, particularly their failure to mention the inequality of exchange as a feature of the forced division of labour, and in not drawing the distinction between primary and secondary forms of regulation. We agree, however, with the following passage:

> That is, a social explanation would be required of the forces that made the lack of regulation characterising the anomic situation. The rise of the asocial individualistic norms - the egoistic situation - would demand explanation in terms of the inappropriateness of the means - the level of social constraint in operation in particular social structures (the anachronistic nature, that is, of the collective conscience). The last two types, it is worth emphasising , would imply a critique of the existing social arrangements (the abnormal society) (Taylor, Walton and Young, 1973:87).

These authors point out that Durkheim had a sensitive understanding concerning the relationship between social forces and the development of personality, but in the case of crime and deviance he limited the explanation to the insatiability of the given biological nature of human beings, and the failure of social forces to restrain the

biologically derived insatiability. We share this criticism, and will deal with the question of secondary regulation in Chapter Six, where we consider integration into the institutional forms of society through the moral and normative order.

10. Since writing Chapter Two an article by Sirianni (1984) has been drawn to our attention, and Pearce (1989) has also re-evaluated Durkheim's work. Both of these works pick up on the themes developed here and highlight the stress Durkheim places on the moral under-pinning of the division of labour. Both authors point to a problem of modern societies concerning the reconciliation of individualism and achieving an equitable and just social order. Sirianni stresses, as is done here, the importance of a fair and just system of exchange, whereas Pearce emphasises the need for reconciling the problem of ability and social location. Both works add a great deal to our understanding of the value of Durkheim's contribution.

CHAPTER THREE

A THEORY OF PRIMARY REGULATION

PART ONE: REGULATION THEORY

1. Introduction

Primary regulation refers to the way in which production and consumption are related within a set of institutional or structural forms. In setting out the theory of primary regulation we will adopt the approach developed by the French 'regulation school', in particular the work of Aglietta (1979), Lipietz (1985 and 1987), and Boyer (1988 and 1988a). The French 'regulation school' in developing this approach has designated a series of ideal types as a means of analysing actual societies and economies. We will utilise some of the ideal types in order to study primary regulation in New Zealand between 1923 and 1985. We will enlarge upon the work of the French 'regulation school' in order to develop a theory of the regulation of consumption. The 'regulation' approach has been largely confined to purely economic questions, but there is no reason why we cannot extend the method to include consumption.

2. The Regime of Accumulation

a. Definition and Description

The accumulation of capital is the rationale of capitalism, and this is recognised by the 'regulation school' in that the major ideal type is the regime of accumulation. Regimes of accumulation are in turn regulated in terms of modes of regulation. A regime of accumulation incorporates a series of elements which all

refer to aspects of social and institutional organisation. The first set of institutions which designates the regime of accumulation is the pattern of *productive organisation within firms*, defining the way in which wage-earners work with the means of production. We will return to this aspect shortly and highlight its importance as the defining feature of different regimes of accumulation. The second feature refers to the *time horizon* for capital formation decisions within which managers use a set of rules and investment criteria. The third feature concerns the *income shares* between wages, profits and taxes which reproduce the various social classes and groups. The fourth feature which characterises a regime of accumulation is the *volume and composition of effective demand* validating the trends in productive capacity. Finally, the regime of accumulation concerns the relationship between capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production (Boyer, 1988:71).

Our principal concern will be with the productive organisation within firms which, as is mentioned above, defines the way in which wage-earners work with the means of production. We will also be concerned with the nature and composition of demand to the extent that this feature of the regime of accumulation has an important bearing upon the nature and characteristics of the mode of consumption, and the regulation of consumption.

b. Institutional Forms

An important concept used by the 'regulation school' and one we will make much use of is the institutional form. The notion of institutional forms focuses upon the manner and reasons why social activities take on a regular pattern, and in the case of economic activities, how they are coordinated allowing for social and economic reproduction (Boyer, 1988:71). Institutional forms are codifications of social relationships which account for

the regularities in social activities, or if no longer appropriate, signal a major crisis in the regime of accumulation. There are a number of institutional forms which are crucial to the operation of the regime of accumulation, some of which are central to our concern, and others that are not and which we will not deal with.[1]

The institutional form central to our concern is the wage-labour nexus (Boyer, 1988:72). The wage-labour nexus refers to the relationship between capital and labour, and to the social organisation of work, the standard of living of workers, and the manner in which consumption is organised and regulated. It has been described in the following way:

> A form of the wage-labour nexus is defined by a coherent system encompassing the following five components: the type of means of production and control over workers; the technical and social division of labour and its implications for skilling/deskilling; the degree of stability of the employment relation, measured, for example, by the speed of employment or work duration adjustments; the determinants of direct and social wages in relation to the functioning of labour market and state welfare services; the standard of living of wage-earners in terms of the volume and origin of the commodities they consume (Boyer, 1988:72-73).

c. The Regime of Accumulation in New Zealand 1923 to 1985

Two broad ideal types of regime of accumulation, which focus upon the productive organisation within firms and the relationship between production and consumption, are recognised within the 'regulation school'. These are the extensive and intensive regimes of accumulation.

Before defining extensive and intensive regimes of accumulation we will highlight specific features of capitalist development in New Zealand in order to make

clear the nature of regimes of accumulation in New Zealand.

The basis of the regime of accumulation in New Zealand, at least in the period between 1923 and 1985, has been land-based food and fibre production (Le Heron, 1988). This was limited to agricultural land-based food and fibre production until the expansion of the forestry industries in the post-1945 period. Agriculture confronts capitalism with a problem in that the central feature of capitalism is the creation and valorisation of surplus value through the wage relation. The wage relation is the central social relation. The special feature of agriculture is its dependence upon nature as the processing agent does not adapt well to the capitalist wage relation. The major constraints of agricultural production involve the biological conversion of energy, the time constraints of plant growth and animal gestation and the control over the extensive space in which the production process occurs (Goodman, Soy and Wilkinson, 1987:2).

The growth of the capitalist mode of production in New Zealand depended upon the growth of what Goodman et al (1987:2) refer to as appropriation and substitution strategies. Appropriation refers to the process whereby different aspects of the production process are taken over by industry - broadcast sowing by drills, the horse by the tractor, manure by synthetic chemicals. In this way aspects of the labour process are transformed into industrial activities and re-incorporated into agriculture as inputs.

In the same way the products of agriculture as food or fibre have presented problems and opportunities for capitalism. Instead of on-farm processing, capitalism has found opportunities for capital accumulation in the downstream processing of food and fibre products. In

this way we can identify different agro-commodity chains in New Zealand linked to livestock production, arable farming and horticulture. The strategy is called substitution by Goodman et al (1987:2).

d. Extensive Regimes of Accumulation

A convenient way in which we can distinguish between regimes of extensive and intensive accumulation is to analyse the accumulation strategies involved in relation to the productive organisation within firms, and in terms of the demand the production seeks to meet. Extensive regimes of accumulation expand and grow through strategies based upon extending the working day and the number of workers employed, but do not involve changes or alterations to the labour process. Nor do extensive regimes of accumulation involve changes to the consumption activities of the working class (Aglietta, 1979). In Britain in the 1920s and 1930s wage-earners were the main consuming group, whereas in New Zealand wage-earners' consumption was less important in balancing production and social demand. Wage-earners were not a potential source of expansion of the economy when the export sector was in crisis. Moreover, the low levels of wages in New Zealand acted as a barrier to the expansion of an intensive regime of accumulation.[2]

In this period the sectors producing capital goods were quite small and serviced the needs of the agriculture sector. The construction sector was engaged in producing constant capital, private housing and other elements of the built environment. The major impetus to accumulation was the development of farming and the industries processing agricultural products. There was a high level of speculation in farm land as a means of accumulating capital, and this speculation resulted in over-inflated land values which aggravated the problems of many farmers

during the depression of the 1930s (National Industrial Conference, 1928:53).[3]

The strategy for expansion under the extensive regime of accumulation involved the development of more land and increasing the number and size of processing units, namely, meat works and dairy factories. This expansion was made possible by the application of freezing technologies to the processing of food. The main means of producing surplus value under a regime of extensive accumulation is through the technique of absolute surplus value. This meant increasing the number of workers involved and extending the working day as long as possible.

The introduction of the Arbitration and Conciliation system in New Zealand in 1894 placed serious limits upon the production of absolute surplus value. This limited the hours of the working day and set out procedures for the way in which work was organised. This system also involved a procedure for the setting of wage levels, but as we have observed wage levels were sensitive to and moved with prices.[4]

Under an extensive regime of accumulation the recreation and leisure elements of the mode of consumption are relatively untouched by the valorisation process, that is, the degree of monetised recreation and leisure is small. This means that this sphere of life is regulated and controlled by what we call reciprocal forms of coordination and organisation.[5] However, there are important linkages between patterns of consumption, the forces of production and the relations of production. In the period of the 1920s and 1930s young wage-earners were dependent upon their parents for housing, but at the same time the parents were dependent upon their adolescent workers to contribute to the household needs. This imposed a reciprocity between the generations which was

the principal form of regulation within the sphere of consumption, leisure and recreation. In this situation young persons were subject to a more rigid form of informal control than was possible in later years.

e. Intensive Regimes of Accumulation

In an intensive regime of accumulation the principal concern involves the intensification of the labour process in order to increase the volume of surplus value through strategies of relative surplus value. In Chapter Four we will use data generated by Pearce (1986) to show how the mass of relative surplus value increased dramatically between 1923 and 1970. Also under this regime of accumulation the consumption of wage-earners became a significant segment of the accumulation process. In other words wage-earners' consumption is an integral element in the growth of the economy. It was the expansion of the regime of accumulation into the production of wage-earners' consumption goods which was a significant ingredient of the long boom following the second world war.[6]

There are therefore, two features which characterise an intensive regime of accumulation. These are firstly, the production of relative surplus value and secondly, the expansion of accumulation into wage-earners consumption, leisure and recreation. It was a combination of these two factors which released forces which fractured and disrupted reciprocal forms of regulation of the consumption, leisure and recreation phases of life, and which also increased the predatory potential of New Zealand society.

3. Absolute and Relative Surplus Value[7]

a. Definition

In order to clarify the way in which the mechanisms of absolute and relative surplus value operate we will divide the working day into a series of fractions. There is firstly, the proportion of the production of the working day needed to reproduce the workers, denoted by Tn. Secondly, there is the proportion of the production of the working day appropriated by the capitalist, denoted by Ts. This gives us the following formula:

$$Tn + Ts = T, \quad \text{where Tn and Ts are both} < T.$$

There is also a category Tw referring to the periods of time during the working day when no value is produced. These are periods in which time is wasted in terms of the creation of value. An increase in the mass of surplus value can arise from a number of factors in isolation or in combination. There can be an increase in the duration of T but where Tn remains stable. This involves increasing the working day with wages remaining unchanged. There can be a reduction in Tw again where Tn is stable. There can also be an increase in Ts where Tn is reduced. This can occur as a result of a lowering in the quantities of the workers consumption basket, or alternatively the quantity of the consumption basket remains stable, but less time is involved in producing the basket. Conversely there can be a decrease in surplus value when there is a rise in Tn with T remaining stable. The set of procedures which increases Ts with Tn remaining constant (whether by a rise in T or a fall in Tw) is known as the production of absolute surplus value. The reduction in Tw refers to an intensification in the labour process. The set of procedures leading to a decrease in Tn is known as the production of relative

surplus value. In due course we will examine these matters in some detail, but at the present level of abstraction our objective is to set out the theoretical framework to examine the more concrete developments.

b. Relative Surplus Value and Labour Productivity

It becomes clear that there are limits to the production of absolute surplus value particularly where workers become organised and the labour process is enmeshed in a complex web of regulations. By the 1920s a system of industrial arbitration and conciliation covering a significant section of the labour force was well-established following its introduction in 1894. Conditions of employment were enshrined in awards which had the force of law behind them. Even though the arbitration system did not cover the majority of workers it was acknowledged that its influence was widespread (National Development Conference, 1928). As a result, a system of wage and work fixing conditions was well established and the labour movement was well organised to resist intensification of the labour process, although at times they may not have succeeded. This meant that if surplus value was to be increased it would be necessary to utilise the procedures of relative surplus value. Under these procedures rising labour productivity becomes the main strategy for capital.[8]

Rising labour productivity is achieved through a series of strategies whose overall effect are to reduce the time of Tn and Tw. The two main ways in which this has been accomplished are, firstly, through the reorganisation of the labour process, and secondly, through mechanisation and technological development. The reorganisation of the labour process has generally been based upon a system of management known as Taylorism (Braverman, 1974). Taylorism involves the designing of work through the recomposition of tasks and the establishment of routine

processes, in order to accelerate the completion of the job and to fill in the gaps in the working day (Aglietta, 1979:114). Taylorism has been combined with mechanisation of the labour process and advances in technology, to create the labour process known as 'Fordism'.[9]

The theoretical nature of these changes, and in particular the specificity of labour organisation and mechanisation and their relationship, has been analysed by Blackburn, Coombs and Green (1985). These authors, following the work of Bright (1958) and Bell (1976) identify three dimensions of the labour process which they designate as transformation, transfer and control. They describe transformation as the primary sphere of mechanisation, transfer as the secondary sphere of mechanisation and control as the tertiary sphere of mechanisation. Transformation refers to the conversion of the raw materials of production into new materials or products, or the rendering of a service. Transfer refers to the conveying of raw materials to new or different work stations as it proceeds through its various phases of transformation. Control involves the manner in which the transformation of the work materials is directed as the work proceeds through its phases. Control in this sense must be distinguished from the notion of control of the labour force in the context of authority and subordination of the workers to their employers.

In their discussion of labour organisation Blackburn et al (1985) draw upon the work of labour organisation theorists, in particular Kelly (1979) and Thompson (1967), in recognising core and peripheral elements of labour organisation. The core element refers to the central tasks of transformation, transfer and control, whereas the peripheral spheres concern the management of inputs (such as raw materials supply) and outputs (such as marketing and sales). Peripheral activities also include the overall control and supervision of labour and

the formulation of accumulation strategies by the various hierarchical management levels. In this study we are primarily concerned with the core elements of labour organisation and the degree and levels of mechanisation of the transformation, transfer and control dimensions of the labour process.

Blackburn et al (1985) argue that the mechanisation of the various dimensions of the labour process have proceeded through a number of phases where transformation has been the primary form of mechanisation, followed by transfer (secondary) and control (tertiary). These various dimensions are introduced and are then generalised across the various sectors of the labour process. They make the point that changes to the different dimensions are made on a progressive and ad hoc basis resulting in an overall increase in the productivity of labour. It is possible to understand the increase in productivity and changes in the configuration of the labour force in terms of which phase of mechanisation and form of labour organisation is dominant in a sector at any one time. For example, the introduction of the chain system of killing in the meat freezing industry in 1933 related to the mechanisation of the transfer phase of the labour process. This new technology lowered the skill levels required and reduced the power of the contract butchers, but the transformation dimension remained largely undeveloped as the core production workers were required to perform largely manual transformation tasks as the carcasses passed along the chain. This also made work in the freezing industry more accessible to a wider range of workers (McNulty, 1958; Curtis, 1986).

A pivotal part of our argument concerns the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions and Taylorist labour organisation in land-based food and fibre production. This was the central means through

which relative surplus value was created and which formed the basis of the expansion of the regime of accumulation in the period following the depression of the 1930s. It is also a pivotal part of our argument that this form of surplus value creation reached the limits of its potential by the early 1970s, and that the regime of accumulation based upon the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process and Taylorist forms of labour organisation is in crisis and is itself being superseded.

PART TWO: THE WAGE RELATION

1. Introduction

We outlined in Part One the theoretical and methodological framework of the regulation approach to social and economic analysis. We referred to the wage-labour nexus as a crucial institutional form involved in the regulation of society. The wage-labour nexus refers to the relationship between capital and labour, and between management and employees. It is also concerned with the nature of the labour process, in particular the organisation of the labour process and the nature of the mechanisation of the labour process around the three dimensions of transformation, transfer and control, and the standard of living of workers and their consumption patterns. In this section we will consider in more detail the theoretical character of the wage relation. We do this in order to consider the question of what is at stake in terms of participation in waged work in Part Two of Chapter Four.

The analysis of the wage relation is concerned primarily with the way in which the labour force is distributed

across sectors of production, and the different production norms in each of these sectors. By production norms we mean the degree of mechanisation of the labour process and the nature of the organisation of work in relation to mechanisation, the intensity of the labour process in terms of the demands made upon the labour force, and the productivity levels within the sector. Our main concern is with the production norms of the core production process (Kelly, 1979; Thompson, 1967). One other concern will be to study the way in which production norms have changed in the period between 1923 and the present, and how they are continuing to undergo change.

One aim is to assess the relationship between persons eligible for participation in waged work and (a) the size of the labour force, (b) the competencies and skill levels available in society in relation to the skills and competencies required by the regime of accumulation, and (c) the degree of intensity of the labour process. This study is undertaken to assess the degree of precariousness of the wage relation in terms of participation in waged work. We will argue that during the period between 1923 and the present there has been a tendency varying in intensity for persons to be excluded from waged work, which has led to the formation of an under-class.

We have argued above, and we will enlarge upon this in Chapter Four, that the basis of the regime of accumulation in New Zealand is land-based food and fibre production. This was organised on extensive lines in the period of the 1920s and 1930s although there were major changes taking place. These changes were related to the capital accumulation in appropriation and substitution strategies of land-based food and fibre production. The accumulation of capital in chemical fertiliser production and in the mechanisation of the

farm labour process (appropriation strategies) led to increases in farm productivity, which in turn allowed for investment in downstream processing industries (substitution strategies). These strategies involved the accumulation of capital in the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process, and led to significant growth in the productivity of New Zealand society.[10]

2. The Importance of the Nature of the Labour Force

The nature of the labour process is important in our analysis for two reasons. Firstly, the labour process is the point at which value is created and the organisation of the labour process is crucial in terms of the level of productivity from which the wealth of society is derived. The mechanisation of the labour process has important implications for the level of social wealth[11] and, as we show in Chapter Four, the mechanisation of transformation and transfer technologies provided the basis for the transition from an extensive regime of accumulation to an intensive one. These changes resulted in major increases in the material wealth of society, and we will see how the gains in productivity were shared between the wage-earners and capital in a stable and regular way. Wage-earners' living standards advanced substantially, but at the same time the rate of surplus value increased during the 1960s.

The more or less smooth operation of this regime of accumulation depended upon continuing and rising levels of productivity. However, the limits of the mechanisation of transformation and transfer technologies were reached by the early to mid-seventies. This resulted in a slowing in the rate of productivity increase which undermined the basis upon which the intensive regime of accumulation was built.[12]

The second reason the labour process is important to our study is related to the way in which the changing nature of the labour process affects and alters the basis upon which persons might participate in waged labour. Skills and competencies are acquired over time, and when these change it places those without the new skills at a serious disadvantage within the labour market. It compromises not only their participation in waged labour, but also the contribution which they can make to social needs and the rewards they can receive. Participation in waged labour is also accompanied by cultural features including questions of taste and notions of what is acceptable wage labour. If the labour process is undergoing change these cultural factors can inhibit adjustments to meet the changing demands of the labour process. Our main focus in Part Two of Chapter Four will be this second feature of the labour process, that is, in defining what is at stake for participation in waged work.

Changes in the regime of accumulation resulted in changes to the labour process. These changes had varying effects in the period between 1920 and the present and also important implications for participation in waged work. In the 1920s and 1930s an under-class of general labourers emerged. We will study the way in which the emergence of this group is closely related to the changing nature of the regime of accumulation. In the period between 1945 and 1970 an intensive regime of accumulation developed based upon the accumulation of capital in transformation and transfer technologies in land-based food and fibre production. This was accompanied by expansion in the labour force, and the presence of an under-class was reduced. However, in the period after 1970 the intensive regime of accumulation has been in crisis, and as we will see, a new under-class has arisen who are at the centre of the predatory forms of activity and some of whom are persistent offenders.

The emergence of an under-class is important in the generation of predatory activity because it tends to disrupt the contribution and reward norms of society and provides an initial impetus to predatory activity by the members of that class. However, as we will see, the impetus to predatory activity depends upon the nature of the interaction between the predatory potential and the exclusion from participation in waged work, which we will enlarge upon in Chapter Seven.

PART THREE: THE MODE OF CONSUMPTION[13]

1. Consumption Defined

The term consumption is defined in the dictionary as 'to destroy or expend by use; use up' and related to the notion of consummation, 'completion, conclusion, the action of perfecting' (Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, 1971). Preteceille and Terrail (1985:102) observe that consumption covers a wide variety of social activities. There is a tendency in classical and neo-classical economics to limit the concept of consumption to the actual purchase of the commodity, whereas our use here is much wider. We regard consumption as incorporating firstly, the actual acquisition of the commodity and its transformation into a use value, secondly, its appropriation, and thirdly, its using up, completion or conclusion. Aglietta (1979) argued that consumption must also be related to the reconstitution of energies which are used up in the act of production. In this way we can conceptualise social life as a cycle which proceeds through production where energies are used up, but which are renewed within the consumption phase of a cycle of activity.

2. Means and Objects of Consumption, and the Social Relations of Access to and Control over the Means and Objects of Consumption

The concept of the mode of consumption developed by Aglietta and built upon by others such as Preteceille and Terrail (1985) can be likened by analogy to a mode of production, consisting of two elements. In the mode of consumption these are the means and objects of consumption, and the relations of consumption. Objects of consumption refer to those items which are immediately consumed such as food and clothing, whereas the means of consumption are durable items such as housing and motor vehicles and other consumer durable items. The relations of consumption express the way in which access to and appropriation of the means and objects of consumption are governed and regulated.

Included in the concept of the means of consumption is the control and regulation of domestic labour power. The means of consumption (that is, the durable items of the mode of consumption) are related to the issue of what Preteceille and Terrail (1985:108) call consumption labour. These authors point out that many of the means and objects of consumption require labour being expended before their actual use or consumption, but that the relationship between the means of consumption and domestic labour power affects the nature of the consumption labour required and the manner in which this labour power is regulated.

In considering consumption we must distinguish between the relations of consumption involving access to the means of consumption and the actual appropriation of the objects of consumption. We will consider the way in which the relations of consumption are regulated in Chapter Five.

Direct access to the means and objects of consumption are generally regulated by monetary exchange mechanisms through participation in waged work and acquisition via the market. Monetary income sets the upper boundaries of consumption. However, within households reciprocal and redistribution mechanisms predominate, and struggles within households oscillate around notions of what is fair and reasonable in terms of contributions to domestic needs, and the rewards to be derived therefrom (See Note 5).

3. The Private Household, the Principal Institutional Form of the Mode of Consumption

Just as we can speak of institutional forms in the case of the regime of accumulation we can speak of the institutional forms in which the regulation of the mode of consumption operates. One of the distinctive and specific features of capitalism is the separation of work and dwelling place. This means that consumption is an essentially private process taking place within the confines of the dwelling, and not directly under the influence of production relations. It is this private organisation of consumption which provides the basis for differentiation in consumption activities, and also provides the context in which identity is formed and reproduced. It is also an important ingredient in establishing the institutional forms in which reciprocal regulation operates. The extent to which differentiation exists provides the basis for what Aglietta (1979:157) calls status relations. The effect of status on consumption activities is expressed in the acquisition of acquired habits and tastes which help stabilise the consumption phase of the activity cycle.

By the same token any disruption to the formation of habits and tastes, or the formation of habits and tastes

which are incompatible with the regime of accumulation and the mode of consumption destabilises consumption. These habits and tastes are transmitted from one generation to the next. This process of transmission is an essential element in the activities within the dwelling place, and a small family as an independent household unit becomes the basic social institution around which these activities are organised.[14]

4. Collective Means of Consumption, and the Inter-relations of Households

The principal institutional form which regulates and governs consumption is the small family organised as a household unit. Consumption also takes place outside of the household, in the sphere of what is often referred to as civil society. In the context of civil society it is also necessary to recognise the part played by, and the nature of the means of consumption, and the social relations governing access to and appropriation of these means of consumption, which form part of the built environment and which exist as collective means of consumption. We have in mind here the streets and roading system, public amenities, parks and recreation areas (Harvey, 1982, 1985a, 1985b).

The social relations between households are complex, and in some respects tenuous. In the sphere of production and distribution, there are few if any linkages between households. Social relations between households are also limited within the sphere of civil society, and often are no more than the occupation of the same suburban or residential space. This common occupation of space imposes some constraints and requirements of approved or disapproved actions. In other words, in the social relations among households, it is in this situation that norms of action are articulated and expressed. In terms

of activities, households are linked only to the extent to which they engage in collective leisure and recreation activities, and to the extent that they might share common interests by virtue of their residential location.[15]

5. Summary of the Argument Concerning the Mode of Consumption Thus Far

The central concerns in conceptualising the mode of consumption are the means and objects of consumption inherent in its operation, the social relations which regulate access to and control over these means and objects of consumption, and their actual consumption. The mode of consumption is also concerned with the way in which production and consumption are mediated through the wage relation. Within the domestic sphere, the contribution of labour is a necessary feature and is related to the manner in which the use values acquired as commodities are transformed, distributed and consumed. It is this relationship between the wage relation and the relations of distribution which primarily regulates the activities within the mode of consumption itself. We have suggested that social interaction within the sphere of consumption oscillates around the magnitude of contributions and rewards, and that these magnitudes must take account of reciprocity whether reciprocity is violated or not.

Monetary income, normally derived from the participation in paid work, sets the limits of access to the means and objects of consumption by a household. Within the household, however, reciprocal and redistribution mechanisms regulate access to and actual appropriation of the means and objects of consumption which form the basis of the mode of consumption. The crucial variables then are the level of income, the nature of the means and

objects of consumption which form the basis of the mode of consumption, and the social relations of access to and appropriation of those means and objects of consumption within the process of consumption.

6. Two Ideal Consumption Modes

In Aglietta's work two modes of consumption are identified, one of which we will call 'Fordist' and which accompanies the intensive regime of accumulation. The other mode of consumption is pre-'Fordist', where the consumption needs of the working class do not form an important part of capital accumulation strategies. We will refer to the pre-'Fordist' mode of consumption as a limited mode of consumption, and we will adopt Aglietta's label of a 'Fordist' mode of consumption in referring to the mode of consumption which is based upon vehicle and home-ownership, mechanised domestic labour and monetary recreation and leisure. We use these ideal types as a means of studying the changing nature of consumption, and its regulation in the period between 1923 and 1985 in Chapter Five. One of the important features of a 'Fordist' mode of consumption is the emphasis upon the private and individual use of the means of consumption. We now consider the implications of this feature of the mode of consumption.

7. The Implications of Private Individual Use of the Means and Objects of Consumption

Aglietta (1979:158) suggests that in the United States, and by implication those other societies which developed 'Fordist' modes of consumption, there emerged a norm of working class consumption in which individual ownership of the means of consumption governed the concrete practices of consumption.

However, we should not assume in New Zealand's case that the working class mode of consumption in the 1920s and 1930s was devoid of ownership of and private control over the means of consumption. What we can say is that the range of the means of consumption was limited, and access to things like motor vehicles and other durable items which did exist was limited to a small group of consumers. For this reason we distinguish between what we call a limited mode of consumption which characterised the period of the 1920s and 1930s and a 'Fordist' mode of consumption which became quite general in New Zealand during the 1960s. In the 1920s and 1930s monetary consumption was limited to the necessities such as food, clothing, public transport and housing (either rental or owner occupied). The 'Fordist' mode of consumption by contrast is concentrated upon vehicle and home-ownership, the mechanisation of domestic labour and monetary recreation and leisure.

There are two implications for the regulation of consumption in the transition from a limited to a 'Fordist' mode of consumption. Firstly, the transition involved an expansion of the range of the means of consumption, affecting more and more dimensions of the cycle of activity, and which meant that monetary exchange became the most pervasive means of coordinating the activities of diverse agents. Secondly, this same expansion of the range of the means of consumption also enlarged the range and diversity of the cycle of activity. These two factors provide the material basis for a more fluid and mobile society. The important point we want to emphasise at this stage is that the more pervasive operation of exchange mechanisms and the enlargement and diversity of the cycle of activity have important implications for the regulation of social life. The expansion of this form of social activity created what we call a more fluid society which had profound

consequences which will be examined in Chapters Five and Six.

8. The Limited Mode of Consumption

The Household Budget survey carried out by the Department of Statistics in 1930 provides us with a basis for studying the nature of the mode of consumption in the period of the 1920s and 1930s.

We have divided the Household Budget Survey conducted in 1930 into a series of categories as follows:

FOOD
HOUSING
CLOTHING
HOUSEHOLD DURABLES
HOUSEHOLD OPERATIONS
TRANSPORT
RECREATION
SAVINGS/INSURANCE/CHARITIES

Under the limited mode of consumption most aspects of consumption were purchased as commodities. Items such as food, clothing, and household operations are objects of consumption whereas housing, and household durables are means of consumption. Access to housing as a means of consumption varies between ownership and rental accommodation, and in this period transport was largely limited to the provision of public facilities. Recreation, as we will see, is a small item of the household budget, owing to the manner of its organisation. Savings, insurance and charities were included in the budget in the 1930s, but these items tend to be omitted from the present household budget surveys. Some comments are now necessary to clarify the extent of commodification in order to better appreciate the nature of the changes which followed.

a. Household Durables

Household durables were limited to the following items:

FURNISHINGS
IRONMONGERY
CROCKERY

b. Household Operations

The operations of households were linked to the following objects of consumption:[16]

FUEL AND LIGHTING
HOUSEHOLD CLEANING
PERSONAL SERVICES
DOMESTIC HELP
FOWL FOOD
GARDENING
EDUCATIONAL PAPERS
NEWSPAPERS
POSTAGE, TELEGRAMS
MEDICAL
GIFTS

The nature of household operations goods also indicates that households were relatively heavily dependent upon consumption labour, and this can be highlighted when we study the content of the consumption basket which became general from the mid-1960s.

c. Transport

The transport category of the limited consumption basket refers entirely to public transport, the predominant mode of transport in the 1920s and 1930s, although the number of motor vehicles was expanding rapidly. Public transport facilities were required in the larger urban areas as a means of getting to and from work. The

tramway system and bicycles were the principal form of transport available to workers. Private motor vehicles were beyond the consumption capacity of the majority of wage earners. The transport category is one which undergoes major transformation in the transition to a 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

d. Recreation

Recreation included the following items:

TOBACCO
SPORTS
TRADE UNION DUES
MUSIC

This list does not refer to the consumption of alcohol which was a major element in the recreation patterns of the time, and to this extent the 1930 survey was deficient. The absence of any reference to alcohol is not unusual in the experience of household budget surveys where this item tends to be under-reported.[17]

The major implication drawn from this list of recreation activities of the 1920s and 1930s is that this sphere of social life was not subject to commodification in any significant way. These activities were organised on a collective reciprocal basis, and were coordinated and organised within the sphere of civil society.

Activities such as racing, golf and other sports were widely supported.[18] Attendances at race meetings throughout the country were large, and significant sums were waged on the totalisator system of betting. Theatre and stage shows were organised and performed largely by local groups, but from time to time professional companies would tour. One could hardly regard these

rather rare events, however, as the commodification of recreation and leisure.

e. Savings and Charities

The following items were included in this category:

CHARITY
CHURCH
LIFE INSURANCE OWN
LIFE INSURANCE FAMILY
FIRE INSURANCE FURNISHINGS
SUPERANNUATION
NATIONAL PROVIDENT
FRIENDLY SOCIETY
SAVINGS

This list indicates a level of support for church and other charitable organisations. The presence of savings relates to building societies and insurance for life cover.

9. The Transition to the 'Fordist' Mode of Consumption

We will return in due course to a consideration of the expenditure required to sustain the limited levels of consumption of the 1920s and 1930s, and how this related to the wage rates at the time. Our next task will be to outline the theoretical nature of the transformation of the limited to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

The core of the regime of accumulation in the 1920s and 1930s was agricultural-based food and fibre production. In our consideration of the wage relation we will see that production norms were quite varied. However, apart from rural areas, work and home were separated making the need for housing and some form of transport a necessary means of consumption. The purchase of the necessities such as food, clothing and household operations were also

dependent upon participation in the wage relation. There was only limited support available to those locked out of wage labour, and no unemployment benefit available to those without work. As we will also see, the wage levels of the bulk of the wage-earners were too low for them to constitute a source of capital accumulation based upon wage-earners' consumption goods. The great bulk of the wages of the time were spent on the basic items such as food, clothing, housing and household operations.

The transition to an intensive regime of accumulation altered the production norms of the wage relation. This involved an intensification of work even though the establishment of the forty hour week in 1936 had meant that hours of work were reduced. The increasing size of urban areas meant, on the other hand, more time involved in travelling to and from work. The greater intensity of work highlighted the role played by the home as a place of refuge and where energies were reconstituted. Fitzgerald and Thorns (1987:181-188) indicate from the work histories they collected how workers were fully committed to their work and how it was the central and dominating influence in their lives.

The importance of the home as the centre of consumption activities coupled with the distance between work-place and home, resulted in two commodities becoming the central focus of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. These commodities are standardised housing and motor vehicles as a means of private transport (Aglietta, 1979:159). The role of the state in expanding the rental housing stocks from the mid-thirties and in then making mortgage funds readily available from the 1950s was an important ingredient in transforming the mode of consumption. The reference to mortgage finance reminds us that housing and motor vehicles are expensive items beyond the immediate incomes of the wage-earners. In this situation credit facilities were essential if

workers were to participate in a 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

The growth in consumer credit is another noticeable ingredient in the intensive regime of accumulation, making the transition to a 'Fordist' mode of consumption possible. It also became a significant means of discipline and control of the working class as access to the means of consumption was dependent upon establishing credit worthiness. The emergence of credit facilities for the purchase of consumer durables is an important institutional form required to coordinate the relationship between production and consumption (Lipietz, 1982). There is a need for predictability and orderly realisation of consumer durables whose price exceeds the limits of weekly, or even monthly wage rates. The consumer credit arm of capital facilitated the degree of predictability and orderly realisation of value.[19]

The growth in private housing and increasing household formations provided the basis for a mass-market of consumer durables which, as we will see, formed in the period between 1956 and 1966. At this point we can identify a qualitative change in the mode of consumption where the individual use of the means of consumption becomes the crucial feature. One of the major struggles for the working class is to engage in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The acquisition of housing, particularly if it is owned rather than rented, becomes a means through which status relations are defined. Social identity and recognition become closely linked to the outward sign of the means of consumption, including housing and the standard of furnishings and durable items.

10. The Basis of Regulation of the 'Fordist' Mode of Consumption

We can now define the basis for the regulation of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The wage relation is the immediate regulatory mechanism of the mode of consumption, to the extent that it sets the upper limits of monetary consumption. The wage level regulates access to housing, motor vehicles, and consumer credit. Participation in the wage relation and the mode of consumption depend upon the ability to engage in wage labour, the attitudes of commitment to work, and the orderly and stable spending of the wage packet. These factors are all related to the moralities of the contribution norms, which we referred to in the previous section and which we enlarge upon in Chapter Six.

Participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption became the central feature of working class struggle and concern, and provided the basis for identity and a sense of what was good and worth striving for. At the same time exclusion is related to non-participation in the wage relation. Participation in the wage relation becomes the basis for integration into and exclusion from the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. This was of course the basis of integration/exclusion under the limited mode of consumption of the 1920s and 1930s. Indeed, participation in the wage relation is the crucial integration/exclusion mechanism in capitalist societies. Participation depends upon the structure of the wage relation, and in the development of the abilities, attitudes and beliefs consistent with wage labour.

11. Collective Consumption and the Mode of Consumption

Up until this point we have assumed that the linkages between production and consumption are mediated entirely

by the wage relation. This of course omits collective consumption, by which we mean the delivery of the means and objects of consumption through collective agencies. The state is the principal agent involved here. The main means of consumption delivered in this way in New Zealand have been, and still are, health, education, housing and transport services. In addition there is the provision of a social wage in the place of participation in wage labour, or as a supplement to the wage. Aglietta (1979:165-167) argues that the generalisation of the wage relation leads to the need for an alternative way of delivering the means and objects of consumption for those who are, for one reason or another, excluded from participation in wage labour. The reason for this is that the generalisation of the wage relation destroys traditional forms of subsistence.

One of the features of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption is the expansion and enlargement of the collective delivery of the means and objects of consumption. This does not mean to say that no form of collective delivery of the means and objects of consumption existed in New Zealand in the 1920s and 1930s. There was a limited range of pensions and benefits for the elderly and for widows, and education, health, housing and transport were provided by collective agencies. There was also a form of charitable aid made available through hospital boards. These forms of collective consumption were totally inadequate, however, to meet the breakdown of the wage relation during the depression of the 1920s and 1930s.[20]

12. The Implications of the Emergence of the 'Fordist' Mode of Consumption and the Potential Range of Activities

The mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions and the organisation of the labour process on the basis of Taylorism increased labour productivity, and

thereby increased the volume of commodities available. This in turn lowered their unit cost, and of course the value of components of the limited mode of consumption. The lower component value of the limited mode of consumption led to a deepening and diversity in the cycle of activity. This deepening and diversity in the cycle of activity involved the following changes in the limited mode of consumption, and ushered in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption:

1. The changing nature of the food items led to a reduction in the cooking and preparation of food. The diffusion of canned and frozen foods, along with a variety of food preparations was prominent. This was a process analogous to appropriation in agricultural production. The value of the food component also fell consistently from the mid-1930s. This same trend of falling value occurred in the case of the apparel component of the limited mode of consumption.[21]

2. In 1942 the state introduced controls on rentals which limited the cost of the housing component of the limited mode of consumption. The effect of these restrictions on rentals lasted well into the 1950s. The state also embarked upon a house building programme and introduced policies to provide low cost mortgages to potential home owners. This broadened the base of home ownership, and home ownership became a significant feature of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.[22]

3. The decline in the value of food and clothing, and the restrictions on house rentals meant that working class expenditure patterns could incorporate motor vehicles, household durable items and the expanding range of commodities aimed at the

operation of households. This was a gradual process and its progress will be examined in Chapter Five.

4. The mechanisation of domestic labour was made possible by the introduction of a range of appliances directed at cooking, cleaning, washing and gardening. The introduction of these means of consumption reduced the time required for tasks such as cooking and cleaning, and restructured the contributions required of household members towards domestic labour.[23]

5. The general diffusion of motor vehicles within New Zealand society increased the mobility of households and reduced the dependence households had hitherto on collective transport services. The transport component increased from a relatively small item of expenditure to one of the largest. The motor vehicle becomes a significant focus in the cycle of activity in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The diffusion of the motor vehicle decreased transport time and therefore made possible a greater range and diversity of activities, which would have been unthinkable in the limited mode of consumption (see Table 5.26).

6. Gradually aspects of recreation and leisure were appropriated as commodities. The diffusion of radios, radiograms, stereos, compact discs, television and video machines have profoundly altered leisure and recreation patterns. This has also been accompanied by increased dining out in restaurants and fast food outlets. The increased hotel opening hours introduced in 1967 altered social patterns of recreation and leisure by reducing the importance of collective forms, replacing them with activities where exchange mechanisms were more general.

PART FOUR: PRIMARY REGULATION: ITS POINTS OF VULNERABILITY AND THE PREDATORY POTENTIAL OF SOCIETY

1. Introduction

Primary regulation proceeds firstly, through the regime of accumulation, which in turn regulates the wage relation and the mode of consumption. Under a capitalist social formation for wage-earners, production and consumption are linked through the wage relation. The relationship between the regime of accumulation, the wage relation and consumption involves the production of commodities, their distribution through an exchange process and their transformation from commodities to use values for consumption. The mode of consumption highlights the central use values, and the social relations regulating the access to and command over their use, or their consumption. The main institutional form governing concrete consumption practices is the private household unit. We have noted the linkages between the regime of accumulation, the wage relation and the mode of consumption. We want now to consider the vulnerability of this form of social regulation, which will form the basis of our analysis of the regulation of consumption in Chapter Five. We do this in order to highlight the extent to which primary regulation contributes to the predatory potential of society and to the exclusion tendency.

2. The Predatory Potential

The predatory potential of society expresses the potential available for, or the extent to which, violations of the contribution and reward norms of society are possible. The central feature in relation to primary regulation is the extent to which it is possible

to engage in the mode of consumption by not contributing to social needs in accordance with the contribution norms of society.

As we have seen, however, the norms of consumption gradually expanded from the 1930s to the present, this being possible because of the expansion in the productive forces of society. These changes increased the predatory potential of society, particularly in the sphere of recreation and leisure, where it has become possible for some to provide for their means and objects of consumption by engaging in predatory recreation and leisure activities. The emergence of illicit drug use, massage parlours as fronts for prostitution, strip joints and nightclubs have been made possible by the rising levels of consumption, thereby creating the potential for predatory activities. The increasing range of use values as essential elements in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption has provided the basis for activities concerned with the theft and recycling of stolen property, as well as the spasmodic and spontaneous theft of the means of consumption. The existence of these activities involves a set of social relations whose reproduction is often dependent upon violent and predatory activities, and which we will deal with more fully in Chapter Seven.

These factors exist only as a potential for predatory activity, and the actual realisation of the potential is dependent upon forces of secondary regulation and the operation of the exclusion tendency, which is studied in relation to exclusion from the wage relation and the mode of consumption. The exclusion tendency interacts with the predatory potential to create the patterns of offending and imprisonment.

3. The Wage Relation and the Exclusion Tendency

The wage relation provides the link for wage-earners to the means and objects of consumption, and the wage level sets the limits to monetary consumption. The nature of the wage relation, and the way in which persons are able to participate in waged work is established by the production norms of the regime of accumulation. The production norms indicate the nature of the work offered and the skill levels and competencies needed. The analysis of the wage relation also enables us to consider the extent to which wage-earners are being incorporated into or excluded from waged work in terms of the numbers available or offering themselves for work, and the sectors of the labour force who are affected by growth or contraction. These factors when considered together mean that we can assess the effects of the regulatory force of the wage relation. Our primary concern is the role the wage relation plays in what we have referred to as the exclusion tendency.

4. The Mode of Consumption and the Exclusion Tendency

The second feature of primary regulation affecting the existence of the exclusion tendency relates to the mode of consumption and the contradictory nature of commodities, these being the chief means of consumption. Private and individual households are the principal consuming units and the main institutional form regulating concrete consumption practises. These practices in turn are related to money income based upon paid work, or some other form of income. The private and individual organisation of households sets limits to social obligations and benefits (Coonz, 1988). In this form of social organisation the relations between households tend to become fragmented and the links are tenuous, often being limited to the sharing of residential space. We will see that the sharing of the same residential space can be a source of social

regulation, particularly under the limited mode of consumption. In the 'Fordist' organisation of consumption activities, relations between households depend upon a range of more or less tenuous activities, where few relations of dependence and benefit emerge.

The commodity form of social organisation therefore fragments and isolates individual households, a situation that is not conducive to handling the normal vicissitudes of life. These disruptive events can result in exclusion from participation in waged labour and can lead to entry into the under-class. There are, therefore, two ways under-classes form. One around the changing nature of the wage relation, and the other as a result of an event which precludes participation in the wage relation. Disrupted participation in the wage relation is crucial because of the way the relation between production and consumption is structured.[24]

These two features of social organisation are the core ingredients of the predatory potential. However, they are not the only elements. It is necessary for us to consider the manner in which secondary regulation, that is the moral and normative order, governs concrete activities and how secondary regulatory forces impact upon the two vulnerable points of the wage relation and the organisation of private and individual households.

5. The Changing Wages/Consumption Relation and the Predatory Potential

Before we conclude this analysis of the mode of consumption we want to draw attention to a factor which we think is vital in understanding the moral underpinning of New Zealand society in the late-1980s and early-1990s. We will show that there are now two main consuming groups, one capable of over-consumption (Davis, 1986) and another much larger group whose consumption practices are

limited in terms of the norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. This realignment occurred when the overall mass of consumption was relatively static, which means that there were winners and losers. This contrasts with the period between 1945 and 1970 where the volumes available grew, and while there were inequalities, most people experienced a rise in consumption standards. We argue that the consumption standards of the over-consumption group sets the moral tone for the whole of society, in relation to what is regarded as desirable and worth striving for. It is these consumption patterns which people adopt and strive to emulate. The changing configuration of the relationship between wages and consumption has been quite rapid and some people have advanced significantly ahead of others whereas in the 1960s there was a much more even distribution of the wages/consumption relation. In our judgement this realignment of the wages/consumption relation creates a volatile situation in terms of the operation of the predatory potential. It also aggravates the gap between cultural goals and the means of achieving those goals which Merton drew to our attention as a factor generating high crime rates (Merton, 1968).

Notes

1. The institutional forms crucial to the regulation of the regime of accumulation, but which will not form part of our analysis are the monetary and credit relations, types of competition, and the institutions which regulate competition among and between capitalist firms. Competition expresses itself through different price mechanisms which can have important implications for the way in which production and consumption are brought into balance. Generally, two ideal types of competition are recognised. The first is traditional price competition, in which the price mechanism is the principal way through which production and consumption are brought into

balance. This form of competition was dominant in the nineteenth century, and was the principal form of competition in New Zealand until the mid-1930s. The second ideal type of competition is monopolist competition. In this form of competition firms compete through advertising and product differentiation, while prices are derived from a mark-up applied to average costs. This form of competition involves a system of management in which the aim is to balance increased output with expected demand. This form of competition imposes a certain set of rules upon management where the co-ordination of production and marketing is crucial. This form of competition also has important implications for the monetary and credit institutions. This form of competition is the distinguishing feature of the type of competition under the 'Fordist' organisation of social life.

The two remaining institutional forms of importance include, firstly, the relationship of the regime of accumulation to the global economy. This has always been a matter of significance for regimes of accumulation in the New Zealand context, given the need to export production from land-based food and fibre industries surplus to domestic needs. The second and last institutional form relates to the means of state intervention. This has been and still is a major feature of the regime of accumulation in New Zealand, but we will largely ignore this issue here.

2. See details of the limited consumption basket in Part Three of this Chapter and in Chapters Four and Five.

3. We measure the size of the different sectors in terms of persons engaged. These measures are set out in the Tables of Chapter Four. In Chapter Four we also set out the growth of capital accumulation in factory production

which gives some idea of the relative size of the different sectors.

4. The National Industrial Conference Report (1928) has an interesting section on the investment in the meat freezing industry at this time, suggesting a serious problem of over-accumulation of capital in that sector.

5. The distinction we draw between activities regulated by value and reciprocity derives from our reading of Polanyi (1977), Sahlins (1972) and Godelier (1972). Polanyi draws a distinction between three forms of regulation: reciprocity, redistribution and exchange. Reciprocity and redistribution are associated with forms of social organisation pre-dating the growth of trade. Trade and exchange regulation grew together. These forms of regulation involve the questions of social production and consumption, and reflect the way in which equivalence is achieved between contributions and rewards. Redistribution involves the allocation of part of the social production to individuals precluded from participation in production through age, infirmity or misfortune. Polanyi refers to reciprocity and exchange as forms of equivalence and redistribution as a variant of these forms developed to stabilise the solidarity of society. Exchange in early societies was recognised as a potentially destabilising mechanism, and was only permitted once it became gainless through a form of equivalences. The scale of equivalences then becomes the basis of the material and moral solidarity of the social group. In our work we have concentrated upon reciprocity and exchange as the two most important means of balancing contributions and rewards. We have also referred to regulation by reciprocity and value, but for the sake of simplicity we will henceforth equate exchange with monetary exchange, treating it as a form of equivalence. This sets to one side the problem of the relationship

between value and money. For this problem see Harvey (1982) and de Brunhoff (1976).

6. The basis of the regime of accumulation in New Zealand has, at least since the 1920s, been land-based food and fibre production. However, as we argue in Chapter Four the accumulation of capital in the consumer durables sector was an additional component of the regime of accumulation. We indicate why and how this was possible, and then later consider the implications for the organisation of consumption.

7. In this section we are relying upon the analysis of Aglietta (1979) relating to the mechanisms of absolute and relative surplus value.

8. One of the major points of contention at the National Industrial Conference in 1928 was the low productivity levels in what were referred to as the sheltered industries. These were the sectors which traded within New Zealand and were not exposed to international competition. These sectors were organised on Taylorist lines which are described in Part Two of this Chapter, and Part Two of Chapter Four. The representatives of capital argued that the Arbitration Court had imposed an inflexible labour process upon them which impeded productivity gains. As we will argue the major problem was the low level of mechanisation in all sectors of the regime of accumulation. One of the major issues we consider is how the 'jamming' of the regime of accumulation through low productivity rates was overcome, resulting in a major realignment of the regime of accumulation.

9. 'Fordism' was a term coined by Gramsci (1971), which sought to make the linkages between production and consumption, and where the consumption of wage earners is an important element in the accumulation process. The

mechanism which allowed this was the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process in land-based food and fibre production (see Part Two of Chapter Four).

10. We consider in more detail in Chapter Four the appropriation and substitution strategies. These strategies are analysed by Goodman et al (1987) and refer to the way in which capital appropriates elements of the agriculture labour process and turns it into an avenue for capital accumulation. Substitution strategies refer to two lines of development. One concerns the industrial processing of farm products, while the second refers to the substitution of farm-produced raw materials with industrial products. The production of synthetic fibres is an example of this form of substitution. Goodman et al (1987) argue that these strategies are adopted because of the problems which nature as the main processing agent in agriculture poses for capital accumulation. We deal more fully with these issues in the New Zealand context in Chapter Four.

11. By social wealth we mean the totality of wealth available to a society.

12. The return to increased labour productivity growth must in the New Zealand context concentrate upon land-based food and fibre production. The dilemma is how to increase productivity levels where, as we argue, the full potential of the 'Fordist' form of organisation has been reached (Freeman et al, 1982). This was the dilemma which faced New Zealand society in the 1920s and 1930s, and which formed the background to the Industrial Conference in 1928.

13. Saunders (1986) has spearheaded a body of work within the urban sociology tradition which focuses upon consumption patterns and consumption sector cleavages.

This work is mainly directed at the accumulation of wealth through house ownership but it has useful arguments about the more general sphere of consumption. We have ignored this work because in our judgement it lacks a convincing theory of the relationship between production and consumption.

14. Questions such as taste and consumption practices and habits are also affected by advertising which seeks to generate an expansion of needs (Heller, 1976). However, the single household family is the major institutional form in which consumption activities and tastes are developed and transmitted. We do not underestimate the powerful influence of advertising and other marketing strategies, but these are not our concern here (see Preteceille and Terrail, 1985).

15. Households share interests which are expressed at the political level, but the social relations at this level have, in recent times at least, become fleeting and tenuous.

16. This list of items probably covers all of the items of a durable nature which a household required, but the point can be made that this category is limited compared with the expansion we will see in the second period. The limited nature of household durables points to the greater reliance on human labour in order to attend to the consumption work required (Preteceille and Terrail, 1985). This would have fallen largely to women and adolescent members of households.

17. Phillips (1987:75) records that in 1920 the consumption of beer per head was 55 litres per year, which fell to 25 litres during the depression of the 1930s. By 1941 consumption had risen to 51 litres per head.

18. The following table sets out the number of persons involved and the clubs organising sports in 1924.

Table 3.1 Number of Persons Involved and Clubs Organising Sports in 1924

	PERSONS	CLUBS
RUGBY	42,000	670
HORSE RACING	23,381	193
TENNIS	21,889	302
BOWLING	13,943	269
GOLF	9,115	96
ATHLETICS	8,721	286
CRICKET	10,819	231
HOCKEY	7,098	399
SWIMMING	6,443	89
SOCCER	6,000	460
LEAGUE	3,818	N.A.
BOXING	2,570	37
CROQUET	2,521	92
ROWING	2,400	50
HUNTING	1,770	15
SHOOTING	1,614	65
TRAMPING	893	12
POLO	128	16

Source: New Zealand Year Book, 1925

19. The 1965 New Zealand Year Book records that in 1964 54.1% of motor vehicle sales and 24.8% of other household goods were purchased on hire purchase. The 1984 New Zealand Year Book records that in December 1983 these figures were 72% and 78% respectively.

20. For an account of the origins of the welfare state and the range of benefits available in the 1920s and 1930s see Oliver, in Trlin (1977). We deal with the nature of social regulation in the face of disruption to primary regulation in Chapters Four to Seven. For an alternative account of conditions see Sutch (1965) and Simpson (1979).

21. These changes are detailed in Chapter Four, Part Three.

22. The relative costs of housing rentals are dealt with in Chapter Four, Part Three.

23. It is important to appreciate what is being argued here. Our emphasis is upon the restructuring of domestic labour which lowered the contributions required in some areas (for example, household cleaning) but added demands in other areas, such as the regulation of children's recreation and leisure and educational activities. We deal more fully with this in Chapter Five.

24. We have already noted that in the lives of some of those profiled in Chapter One a disruptive event intervened which seemed to set off a pattern of offending. The point here is to emphasise the private organisation of households which establishes boundaries of obligation and benefit (Coonz, 1988). An individual participates in society through the means and objects of consumption derived from membership in private and individual households. Where these arrangements are destabilised the basis of regulation breaks down.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRIMARY REGULATION IN NEW ZEALAND 1920 TO 1985

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will be divided into three sections. In Part One we will consider the nature of primary regulation in relation to the regime of accumulation in the period of the 1920s and 1930s, its transition to an intensive regime of accumulation, and the crisis in the intensive regime of accumulation. This section is designed to indicate the changing nature of the wage relation and the mode of consumption, and their linkages to the regime of accumulation. In Part Two we deal with the changing nature of the wage relation, and consider the production norms of the various sectors of the regime of accumulation in order to identify what is at stake for participation in waged work. In this section we indicate how the changing nature of the requirements for participation in waged work has had the tendency to generate an underclass, which has important implications for the interaction of the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency. In Part Three we consider the extent to which, in the period between 1945 and 1985, wage-earners and the households of which they are members, have been able to participate in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The aim here is to indicate how the changes in the mode of consumption have contributed to alterations in the regulation of consumption. We analyse the actual regulation of the mode of consumption in Chapter Five. The third section of this Chapter is also designed to indicate the broad distribution of households in three levels of what we call the wages/consumption relation. Our argument is that households in the lower levels of the wages/consumption relation are excluded in varying degrees from participation in the 'Fordist' mode

of consumption, which impacts upon the interaction of the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency.

PART ONE: THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF THE REGIME OF ACCUMULATION AND ITS MODE OF REGULATION, 1923 TO THE PRESENT

1. Introduction

In Chapter Three we indicated that our focus upon the regime of accumulation is largely limited to the productive organisation within firms, and that on this basis two ideal types of regimes of accumulation could be identified, namely extensive and intensive regimes of accumulation. The extensive regime of accumulation is characterised by few changes to the labour process, the creation of absolute surplus value is the main strategy of accumulation, and workers' consumption plays a limited part in accumulation strategies. An intensive regime of accumulation on the other hand involves a major reorganisation of the labour process, and the incorporation of the production of workers' consumption goods as part of accumulation strategies. The aim of labour reorganisation is enhanced labour productivity in order to increase the volume of surplus value. In order to incorporate workers' consumption into accumulation strategies, the volume of variable capital must also rise, so that workers can purchase part of the increased productivity.

In the following analysis we are adopting the data generated by Pearce (1986) in his study of factory production between 1923 and 1970. This study involved a reconstruction of New Zealand factory production data in value categories. The data does not cover the entire capitalist mode of production, but it does cover the core

of capitalist production in New Zealand. The New Zealand factory system is dominated by the production of consumption goods, rather than the production of the means of production. The Pearce study provides a body of high quality data expressed in value terms which can form the basis of an analysis of the transition from an extensive to an intensive regime of accumulation, and the part played by the productive organisation of firms for the creation of relative surplus value.

It has been necessary to generate additional data to Pearce's study in order to analyse the relationship between production and consumption. In order to study this relationship we have constructed what we call the limited and 'Fordist' consumption baskets. These consumption baskets express the contents and costs, expressed in units of the Average Unit Wage (AUW)[1] of one week's consumption for a household. The limited consumption basket is based upon the household survey conducted in 1930 which we have already referred to in Chapter Three. The 'Fordist' consumption basket is based upon the household budget surveys carried out regularly from 1973-74 until the present. In each case we have carried out a costing of the items in each of the baskets from 1923 until the present. The costings of the individual items in the two baskets have been calculated by using the Consumers' Price Index for the appropriate year. We have then calculated for each year what we call the Average Unit Wage. The Average Unit Wage for the period between 1923 and 1970 is calculated by dividing the variable capital (according to Pearce) by the number of hours worked in factory production. The number of hours worked in factory production has also been generated by Pearce. The results of these calculations are set out in Tables 4.15 to 4.25 in the Appendix to this Chapter. What follows in this section is based on that data.

Having calculated the Average Unit Wage we then calculated what we call the specific price of the consumption baskets for each of the years from 1923 until 1970. The specific price of the consumption baskets is calculated by converting the monetary measures of the consumption basket into units of the Average Unit Wage. For example, if we take the year 1923 the Average Unit Wage was 14 cents. The limited consumption basket based upon the Consumers' Price Index would have cost 1190 cents, amounting to 85 units of AUW. This measure of 85 is the specific price of the limited consumption basket for that year. The specific price of the consumption basket, in other words, expresses the number of units of an average hour's work. By dividing the specific price of the consumption basket by the number of hours worked in a week we can then establish the wage level required to purchase the limited consumption basket. Again using 1923 as an example, the hours worked per week based upon Pearce (1986) were 47.48 hours. In order to purchase the limited consumption basket a wage of 1.78 times the AUW for a household would have been required. (As it happened this wage level was well beyond the variable capital generated in factory production in 1923). In this way we have a common unit of measurement of the consumption baskets, which is the labour content of the consumption basket. This gives us a measure which is comparable over the period of analysis. It overcomes the weakness of using monetary units which are affected by inflationary pressures. We have also recalculated the variable capital and surplus value according to Pearce in units of the Average Unit Wage (Farjoun and Machover, 1986).

2. The General Conditions Relating to the Mode of Consumption in the 1920s and 1930s, and the Importance of Relative Surplus Value

At the beginning of the first period, that is 1923, the monetised consumption of the mass of the New Zealand

people did not extend beyond the bare necessities of life. Monetised consumption was largely limited to food, clothing, housing, fuel and lighting and public transportation. Activities within the spheres of recreation and leisure were regulated by reciprocal forms of regulation and involved collective participation. The limited consumption basket reflects this situation, but it is clear that most wage-earners' incomes derived from factory production were under the levels of the limited consumption basket, based upon the 1930 Household Budget Survey. This survey may not have been a representative sample of households, but it does give us a standard which we can use to measure the gains made by wage-earners in their standard of consumption.

In the Report of the Proceedings of the National Industrial Conference held in 1928 to which we have already referred, there is some evidence which strongly substantiates the measures in our data. In making submissions to the conference, a workers' representative (Roberts, page 248 of the Conference proceedings) showed that the basic wage of workers in 1928 was four pounds and eight pence. Roberts argued that this basic wage would purchase two thirds of the commodity requirements of a family. The AUW in 1928 according to our data was 13 cents (when we convert the currency of the time into dollars and cents). A wage of four pounds and eight pence converts to 807 cents. Based upon an AUW of 13 cents the weekly wage expressed in the number of units of the AUW amounts to 62.07 units. The specific price of the limited consumption basket in 1928 was 93.57. On this basis the basic wage, converted to units of AUWs was 66.33% of the limited consumption basket. This matches exactly Roberts' claim. We believe on the basis of this evidence that our figures bear a very close approximation to the living conditions of wage-earners at the beginning of our period.

This evidence suggests that many of the wage-earners in New Zealand were struggling to make ends meet and a good deal of hardship would have been experienced. There is an overwhelming body of evidence to support this conclusion, but we will refer to only one set of data. The annual reports to the House of Representatives by the Health Department at this time included a section on the health of school children. In 1928 for example, 51,490 complete medical examinations were carried out and 85.9% of the children had some physical defect (AJHR H31, 1929).[2]

We have set out the parameters of monetised consumption as a means of quantifying the value of labour power at the commencement of our study. Quantifying the value of labour power gives a basis of measurement to test the thesis concerning the importance of relative surplus value as the mechanism governing capital accumulation in the period of the transition from an extensive to an intensive regime of accumulation. At stake here is the testing of Aglietta's findings about the transition from an extensive to an intensive regime of accumulation, and his arguments generally have application to the changing nature of the regime of accumulation in New Zealand between 1923 and 1970.

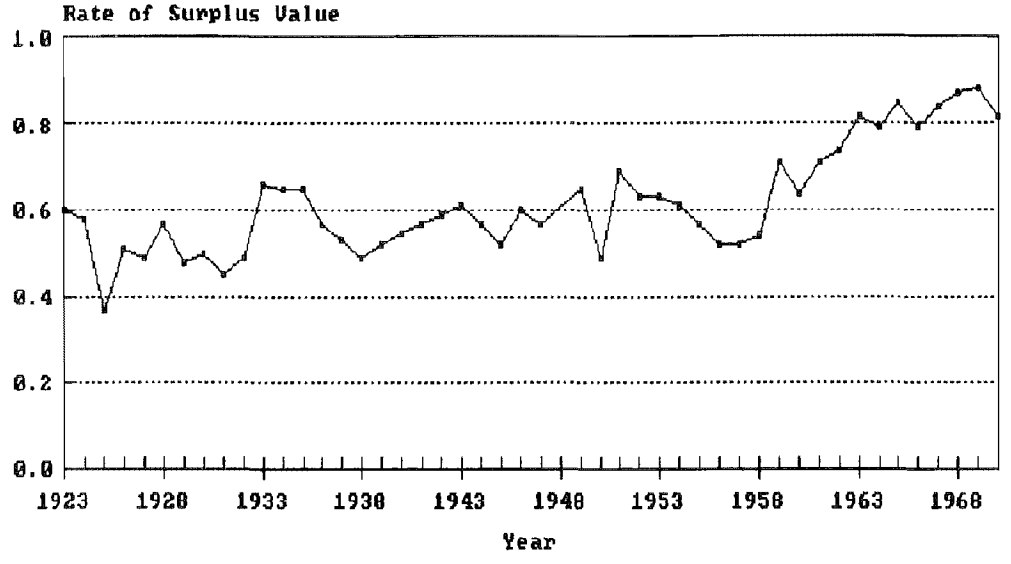
Aglietta (1979) argued that in the United States' economy, it was a rising rate of productivity growth between 1935 and 1970 which accounted for the long boom. According to Aglietta (1979) it was the generalisation of the 'Fordist' labour process which accounted for the growth in labour productivity. Fordism involves the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process. It was the mechanisation of these two dimensions of the labour process which made possible the increase in the volumes of variable capital and surplus value, and also allowed for a rise in the rate of surplus value. The collapse of the

long boom, according to Aglietta, is directly related to the falling rate of productivity as the 'Fordist' form of labour organisation reached the limits of its potential and compromised the rate of profit. Any solution to the current crisis is dependent in Aglietta's view on increasing productivity by what he calls 'Neo-Fordism' methods of mechanisation. In Blackburn et al's (1985) terms this amounts to a further generalisation of the tertiary or control dimension of the labour process, and the reorganisation of the labour process which would probably involve the restoration of greater autonomy to the core production workers. Under Fordism the control functions are labour intensive in nature, whereas 'neo-Fordism' involves the mechanisation of control functions. For the moment, however, our focus is the transition from a regime of accumulation in the 1920s and 1930s which we characterise generally as extensive in nature. Our analysis of the production norms in relation to the wage relation helps identify the nature of the regime of accumulation in the 1920s and 1930s.

In Table 4.19 and Figure 4.1 we have set out the rate of surplus value according to Pearce's figures and the rate of surplus value expressed in AUWs. The rates are slightly different as the rate expressed in AUWs is a few decimal points greater, but the two measures follow the same pattern of rises and falls. It would make little difference which set of figures we use, since our purpose is to look at long term trends. But as we will conduct most of our analyses in AUWs we will use this measure. The average rate of surplus value for the 47 years is 0.62, with the standard deviation being 0.10.

The rate of surplus value during the 1960s exceeds the standard deviation, and this suggests an exceptional situation existing during the decade of the sixties. We will seek to suggest what happened which brought about this major increase in the rate of surplus value.

Figure 4.1 Rate of surplus value in Factory Production, 1923 to 1970.



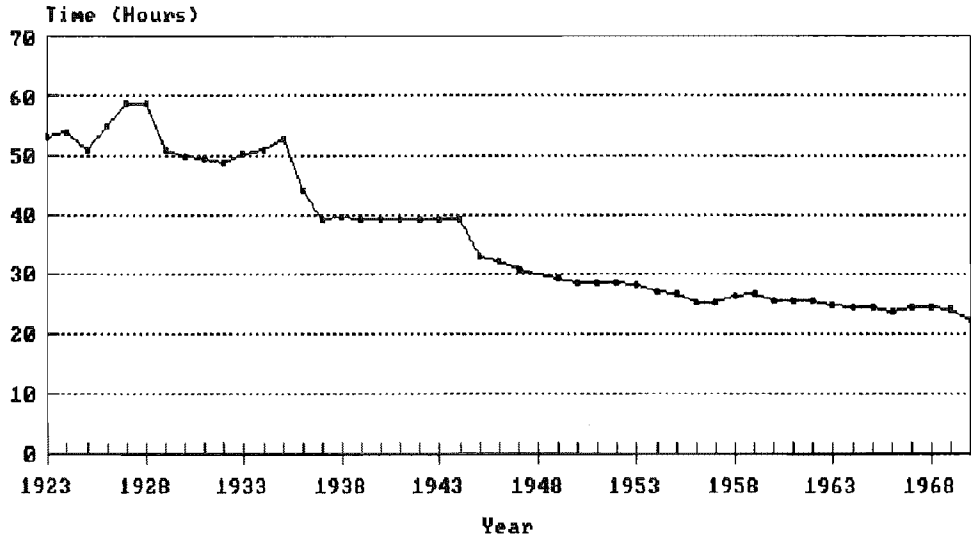
Source: Pearce (1986)

The device of relative surplus value involved an increase in Ts as a result of a decrease of Tn but where T remains stable. Tn refers to the time taken to reproduce the value of labour power. If we refer to Table 4.24 and Figure 4.2 it is apparent that the time taken to produce one limited consumption basket falls from 53.26 hours in 1923 to 22.04 hours in 1970. In Table 4.21 we see that the units of AUWs required to purchase the limited consumption basket falls from 1.78 in 1923 to 0.77 in 1970. The same trend is clear in the case of the 'Fordist' consumption basket. The reduction in the value of the limited and 'Fordist' consumption baskets means that the range of consumption of the wage-earners increased during the period from 1923 until 1970.

Many wage-earners would have been able to increase their monetised consumption and take on some of the elements of the 'Fordist' consumption basket. In Table 4.21 we see that the limited consumption basket is within the grasp

of the average unit wage from 1953. It is from about this time that the rate of surplus value increases. The

Figure 4.2 Fall in the time required to produce a limited consumption basket as a measure of the value of labour power in factory production, 1923 to 1970.



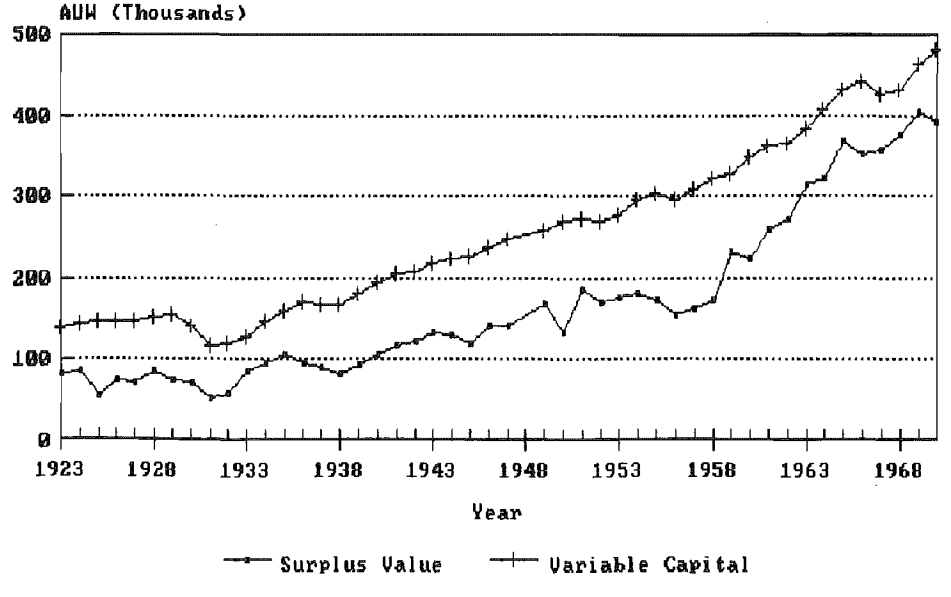
Source: Pearce (1986)

interesting thing is that the mass of surplus value increased by 69.38% between 1959 and 1970. The mass of variable capital increased by 47.18% in the same period, but the number of limited consumption baskets which variable capital will purchase increased by 77.18% (see Figure 4.3). Throughout the period from 1929 until 1970 the specific price of the limited and 'Fordist' consumption baskets decreased, and the time of Tn also decreased, but where the standards of consumption of wage-earners advanced. A fall in the specific price of the consumption indicates that wage-earners work less time in order to produce the same quantity of goods. If the AUW remains stable, or even rises, then wage-earners' consumption capacity rises. The crucial point is around 1955 when the limited consumption basket is reduced to

the AUW. Between 1933 and 1955 the rate of surplus value oscillates around the mean by the standard deviation. In the late 1950s and the 1960s the rate of surplus value exceeds the standard deviation indicating a shift in the division of the produced wealth in favour of the capitalist class. This occurs at the point where the specific price of the limited consumption baskets falls to parity with the AUW. The capitalist class were able to increase the rate of surplus value. At the same time, the real living standards of the wage-earners was also able to advance, but at a slower rate than the rate of surplus value. In other words capital was able to take greater relative advantage of rising productivity than wage-earners.

The actual achievement of increasing relative surplus value and thereby increasing the mass of variable capital and surplus value is a product of increasing mechanisation of the transformation and transfer

Figure 4.3 Mass of surplus value and variable capital, factory production, 1923 to 1970.



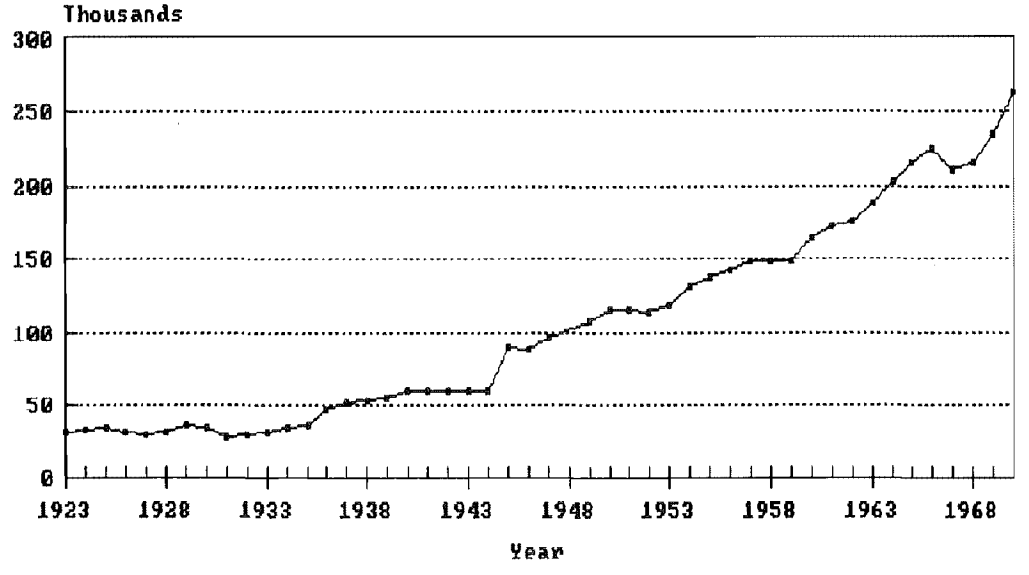
Source: Pearce (1986), and Household Budget Survey (1930)

dimensions of the labour process, and the Taylorist organisation of the labour process in relation to mechanisation. The increased use of mechanisation is itself the product of increased accumulation. The willingness of the capitalist class to accumulate capital was itself the result of a favourable rate of profit. However, during the latter part of the 1960s there is evidence of a rising organic composition of capital, accompanied by a rise in the level of surplus value. The rise in the rate of surplus value offsets the tendency for the rate of profit to fall, at least during the 1960s, but this became problematic from the early 1970s (Pearce, 1986).

One of the crucial factors arising out of this analysis is the fall in the value of labour power resulting from rising productivity. Rising productivity was the result of the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process. Rising productivity resulted in a rise in the mass of value created, and the pool of value was distributed between capital and labour at a relatively stable ratio, oscillating around ten points of the mean, apart from the period in the 1960s. This also allowed for a rising level of working class consumption and for an expansion in the mass of surplus value available for consumption and accumulation (see Figure 4.4). In 1960 the value of labour power as represented by the limited consumption basket and the AUW reached a point of convergence, which was the pre-condition for the formation of a mass market for durable consumption goods. This convergence is a vital feature of our argument, since it was this factor above all others which transformed the basis of the regulation of consumption, and secondary regulation within civil society. The formation of a mass market and an expansion in the levels of working class consumption made it possible for the rate of surplus value to be increased

and thus counteracted the tendency for the rate of profit to fall, at least during the 1960s.

Figure 4.4 Growth in effective purchasing power of workers' wages in factory production, 1923 to 1970.



Source: Pearce (1986) and Household Budget Survey (1930)

3. The Sequences of Accumulation, and the Changes in the Relations of Production and Consumption in the Transition to an Intensive Regime of Accumulation Between 1936 and 1970

The question that we now turn our attention to is what were the conditions which encouraged capitalists to accumulate capital in transformation and transfer mechanisation. This involves an account of the sequences of accumulation, and the consequential changes in the relations of production and consumption. The accumulation of capital in transformation and transfer technology does not exhaust the avenues of accumulation but transformation and transfer technology is the element

which contributed most directly to increased productivity.

The precise nature of the sequences of capital accumulation of the regime of accumulation between 1936 and 1970 cannot be specified, but we can state with confidence the following features.

1. The expansion of the production from the land-based food and fibre production. This is a two-way process, involving the expansion of those activities which enhanced production levels leading to the need for additional processing units in the industrial food complex. The need for additional processing capacity stimulated the construction, construction goods and the metals and machinery sectors. These are the strategies which we have identified as appropriation and substitution (Goodman et al, 1987).

2. The land-based food and fibre sectors includes the processing of forestry products based upon forestry development. The expansion of this sector amounted to a new industrial sector which contributed to the growth of both aspects of the construction sector and the metals and machinery sectors. This expansion was limited in this period largely to the northern half of the North Island, and is dominated by paper products.

3. The construction industry and the construction goods sector expanded as a result of the state's intervention in the development of the built environment. This affected housing construction, roading, hydro-electric development and public amenities. This was in addition to the activities in the construction sector initiated by developments in the land-based food and fibre production. The growth of the house construction industry was accompanied by increasing household formation stimulating the consumer durables sectors.

4. The household durables and operations sectors made steady growth between 1936 and 1961, but the major spurt in growth occurred between 1961 and 1966. These sectors did not 'take-off' until a mass market had formed. This 'take-off' in the production of household durables and operations goods is closely related to a similar expansion in the metals and machinery sectors from the same time. We will deal with some of the pre-conditions for the formation of a mass market in terms of the changing nature of the regime of accumulation in this section. We will analyse the changing relation between wages and consumption levels in Part Three of this Chapter.

5. The rising tide of economic activity following the depressed conditions of the 1920s and 1930s formed a market for transport goods for production and consumption purposes. The increasing consumption capacity of the working class made possible a market in used vehicles. The number of motor vehicle registrations grew steadily throughout the period between 1936 and 1970, and the assembly, repair and trading in motor vehicles became a major focus of activity and made a major contribution to the increasing fluidity of social life (see Table 5.26).

4. The Transition from an Extensive to an Intensive Regime of Accumulation

a. Land-based Food And Fibre Production

Land-based food and fibre production does not exhaust the mode of production, however, it is the heart of the production sector of the economy. In the 1920s and 1930s the farmers were a major producing group, and the major consuming group who had the capacity to affect consumption patterns. In the depression of the 1930s the incomes of farmers fell substantially and this depressed the internal domestic economy. However, from the mid-

thirties the incomes of farmers began to recover and they were once again able to exert some influence upon the domestic consumption patterns. The consumption demands of the farming sector were able to restore the consumption goods sectors to their pre-depression levels before the outbreak of war in 1939 (Philpott and Hussey, 1969).

Throughout the whole of the 1920s and 1930s, despite the depression, the volume of production from agriculture increased. Farmers were able to do this during the depression by adopting strategies of absolute surplus value and by using subsidised labour.[3] Paid farm labour numbers increased for this reason during the depression. In this period the degree of farm mechanisation also increased aimed largely at the transformation and transfer dimensions of the farm labour process (Philpott and Hussey, 1969).

Although the major breakthroughs in increased farm output occurred after the second world war (Le Heron, 1988), strategies of appropriation and substitution were underway before and during the period of the 1920s and 1930s, and they were expanded after 1945. These strategies created potential for capital accumulation without direct investment in land itself. One of the major features was an expansion in the rate of application of chemical fertilisers to the land which enhanced the productivity of the soil. Another feature was the mechanisation of aspects of the labour process leading to opportunities to accumulate capital in the farm machinery and transport goods sectors of the economy.[4]

The other factor related to increased farm production concerns the application of scientific knowledge to the farm production process improving the performance of breeding stock and crop yield. The combination of these

various factors led to a massive increase in the volume production of land-based food and fibre production.

Land-based food and fibre production in New Zealand is linked to livestock production, horticulture, arable farming and forestry production. Livestock production is linked to wool, dairy and meat agro-commodity chains. Arable farming is linked to the flour and baking agro-commodity chains, and horticulture to the sale and processing of fruit and vegetables. Forestry products are linked to paper production and the construction goods sectors. Each of these elements forms an agro-commodity chain which is regulated and controlled by a different set of mechanisms designed to reduce the hazards of validating the value created in the production phase, and as well as a means of extracting surplus value as the commodities pass through the chain. Le Heron (1988) gives some indication of the complex web of legal regulations and the institutional arrangements involved in the regulation of the agro-commodity chains. It is not intended, however, to deal with the manner in which these agro-commodity chains were regulated here.[5]

Appropriation strategies provided opportunities for capital investment and also contributed to a massive increase in the productivity of the land-based food and fibre sectors. This massive increase in the volume of production in its turn provided a basis for the accumulation of capital in the processing of the increased production. This resulted in the expansion of the industrial food complex. In the period following the second world war, industries based upon the processing of forestry products expanded considerably after the second world war. Some of the largest companies in the New Zealand economy today are located in this sector. The expansion of the industrial food complex was based upon the buoyant export[6] prices for food products in the protected British market. The processing of forestry

products was based upon the maturing stocks of trees which had been planted in earlier times. A substantial proportion of the production had to be exported. The floating of one company to process wood products was dependent upon sponsorship by the state in order to mobilise the capital, for what was the largest company float of its kind up until that time (Jesson, 1987:48).

We set out schematically the agro-commodity chains in Figure 4.5, and in the following Tables (4.1 to 4.9) we set out the growth in capital investment, labour power concentration and the increase in horse-power available as an aid to production. We will limit our presentation to the dairy, meat and fruit and vegetable processing branches of the industrial food complex and to paper products in the forestry agro-commodity chain. We will consider the construction goods as a separate category. We assume that the growth in horse-power capacity is aimed at the mechanisation of transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process. Our data is drawn from and limited to Factory Production data between 1936 and 1966. All figures relating to capital investment are expressed in 1956 dollar values.

Tables 4.1 to 4.4 show that there was significant growth in capital formation and the additional horse-power available in each branch of the food and fibre sectors between 1936 and 1966. This same growth is not matched in 'persons engaged' apart from the meat freezing industry where the ratio of horse-power to persons engaged increased by only a small amount. This indicates few relative gains in mechanisation per person engaged compared with other branches of food and fibre production. The major change in mechanisation occurred in 1933 when the chain system of killing was introduced. In meat freezing the strategies of expansion have been to increase the size of the plant and the personnel rather than intensify the production process in this period.

Figure 4.5 A schematic presentation of the agro-commodity chains.

Livestock production-Dairy	Controlled by NZ Dairy Board
- Meat	Controlled by NZ Meat Board
- Wool	Controlled by NZ Wool Board
Arable farming - Baking and confectionery production	(Controlled by N.Z. Wheat Board)
- Fruit and vegetable processing	(Controlled by market strategies)
Horticulture - Fruit and vegetable production and	Coordinated by the Apple and Pear Board
Forestry - Paper Products	(Market strategies)
- Construction goods	(Market strategies)

Table 4.1 Growth In Capital, Labour Power Concentration, Horse-Power Available And Horse-Power (HP) Per Person Engaged In Dairy Production Between 1936 and 1966.

YEAR	CAPITAL 1956 $	PERSONS ENGAGED	HORSE-POWER	HP PER PERSON
1936	32,819,424	4,318	24,295	5.63
1951	44,279,828	4,142	43,548	10.51
1956	54,863,598	4,680	47,644	10.18
1961	50,246,195	4,485	55,643	12.41
1966	60,005,723	4,125	62,571	15.17

Source: Factory Production Series, Department of Statistics, 1936 to 1966

Table 4.2 Growth In Capital, Labour Power Concentration, Horse-power Available and Horse-power (HP) Per Person Engaged In Meat Freezing Between 1936 and 1966.

YEAR	CAPITAL 1956 $	PERSONS ENGAGED	HORSE-POWER	HP PER PERSON
1936	34,802,854	7,665	41,010	5.35
1951	44,458,148	12,745	66,397	5.21
1956	66,839,292	14,690	79,238	5.39
1961	84,819,090	18,381	110,753	6.03
1966	103,131,476	18,700	134,893	7.21

Source: Factory Production Series, Department of Statistics, 1936 to 1966

Table 4.3 Growth In Capital, Labour Power Concentration, Horse-Power Available and Horse-Power (HP) Per Person Engaged In Fruit and Vegetable Processing Between 1936 and 1966.

YEAR	CAPITAL 1956 $	PERSONS ENGAGED	HORSE-POWER	HP PER PERSON
1936	754,353	427	181	0.42
1951	3,214,007	740	3,981	5.38
1956	6,490,840	1,039	7,398	7.12
1961	9,138,969	1,569	11,255	7.17
1966	13,261,418	2,282	17,493	7.67

Source: Factory Production Series, Department of Statistics, 1936 to 1966

Table 4.4 Growth In Capital, Labour Power Concentration, Horse-Power Available and Horse-Power (HP) Per Person Engaged In Paper Pulp Between 1936 and 1966.

YEAR	CAPITAL 1956 $	PERSONS ENGAGED	HORSE-POWER	HP PER PERSON
1936	-	-	-	-
1951	28,971,773	660	15,477	23.45
1956	38,366,918	1,994	84,697	42.48
1961	36,824,233	2,468	159,267	64.53
1966	52,170,951	2,805	234,081	83.45

Source: Factory Production Series, Department of Statistics, 1936 to 1966

The meat freezing branch can be contrasted with dairy processing where the ratio of persons engaged to horse-power available increased nearly threefold. In this period the volume of product processed increased enormously, but it was accomplished with fewer persons. The growth in the horse-power/person ratio is 34.76%. The paper pulp branch did not exist in 1936, but by 1966 the volume of horse-power per person engaged was one of the highest in factory production.

We have concentrated upon the accumulation of capital and the build-up in the volume of horse-power in industries associated with the processing of land-based food and fibre products. This was also accompanied by an impressive build-up in the productive capacity of the fertiliser industries which stimulated productivity within agriculture. In the following Table we have shown the build-up in horse-power in the chemical fertiliser and lime production branches of the sector producing intermediate goods for the agriculture sector.

Table 4.5 Horse-Power Available to the Chemical Fertiliser and Lime Processing Branches, and Horse-Power (HP) Per Person, 1936 to 1966.

YEAR	CHEMICAL FERTILISER	LIME	TOTAL HORSE-POWER	HP PER PERSON-CHEMICALS	HP PER PERSON-LIME
1936	5,728	n.a.	5,728	7.61	n.a.
1951	11,224	13,686	24,910	12.04	32.20
1956	14,968	17,830	32,978	14.03	60.03
1961	21,430	16,476	37,906	18.70	79.98
1966	39,317	20,722	60,039	38.70	89.32

Source: Factory Production Series, Department of Statistics, 1936 to 1966

b. The Construction Goods Sector

We now shift our attention to those sectors which were linked to agricultural-based food and fibre production. The first sector we consider is the production of construction goods relating mainly to sawmilling, planing mills, joinery, other wood products, cement and concrete products. The construction industry as we observed in Chapter Three is involved in house building and in the transformation of the built environment. These changes in the built environment were one of the most striking features of the mode of production in its transition from an extensive to an intensive regime of accumulation. This sector has been a steady rather than a spectacular sphere of capital accumulation during the period under review. Some of the major New Zealand public companies are located in these sectors, in particular Fletcher Challenge, Carter Holt Harvey and Elders-N.Z. Forest Products.[7] The substantial increase in horse-power per person reflects increasing mechanisation of transformation and transfer technologies, and resulted in a steady increase in employment associated with the control of this technology. House building has been an

Table 4.6 Growth In Capital, Labour Power Concentration, Horse-Power Available and Horse-Power (HP) Per Person Engaged In Construction Goods 1936 to 1966.

YEAR	CAPITAL 1956 $	PERSONS ENGAGED	HORSE-POWER	HP PER PERSON
1936	23,094,988	12,370	61,320	4.96
1951	45,265,509	16,747	143,988	8.60
1956	65,529,414	18,265	183,761	10.06
1961	85,396,561	20,537	224,873	10.95
1966	105,699,144	22,628	271,571	12.00

Source: Factory Production Series, Department of Statistics, 1936 to 1966

important ingredient in the expansion of the housing stocks between 1945 and 1970, and this is linked to the growth in population and household formations. This in turn has provided an outlet for the household durables sector.[8]

c. Metals and Machinery Production

This sector is closely related to and dependent upon a number of other sectors. It has been involved in the installation of the machinery and technology associated with the growth in the volume of horse-power available to industry. We have already noted the expansion in the land-based food and fibre sectors and the construction goods sector. This sector is also linked to the consumer durables sector which we will examine shortly. In 1936 this sector was limited to small batch engineering and machinery installation. The major outlet was in servicing the land-based food and fibre industries. Table 4.7 shows the volume of horse power per worker was low indicating that the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process were labour intensive. By 1966 the sector had been transformed, which involved increases in capital of 1317% and 316% in persons engaged. The increase in horse-power was 963%, and the horse-power available per person had increased from 1.53 to 3.91. This increase is much lower than many sectors which indicates that the degree of mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process had been limited.

There are two growth periods discernable in Table 4.7. The first is between 1936 and 1951, followed by a relatively static period between 1951 and 1956, and then a second growth period between 1956 and 1966. The first growth period is associated with the expansion in land-based food and fibre production, and the construction goods sector. The second growth spurt is primarily due

to a dependence upon the consumer durables industries. At this time a mass market for consumption goods had formed and was expanding. This provided the basis for growth in the metals and machinery sectors, linked to the production of consumer durables. In the ten years between 1956 and 1966 nearly 18,000 persons were added to this sector.

Table 4.7 Growth In Capital, Labour Power Concentration, Horse-Power Available and Horse-Power (HP) Per Person Engaged In Metals and Machinery 1936 to 1966.

YEAR	CAPITAL 1956 $	PERSONS ENGAGED	HORSE-POWER	HP PER PERSON
1936	10,348,882	9,180	14,028	1.53
1951	37,736,872	18,336	54,152	2.95
1956	52,941,090	20,478	66,470	3.25
1961	78,752,929	26,509	90,564	3.42
1966	146,599,768	38,143	149,084	3.91

Source: Factory Production Series, Department of Statistics, 1936 to 1966

d. The Production of Transport Goods

Included in this sector is the repair of motor vehicles which tends to distort the capital intensity of the vehicle assembly and the tyre and rubber branches of the sector. The low horse-power to persons engaged ratio also reflects the dominance of the vehicle repair branch. This activity tends to be labour intensive in the period under review, whereas the vehicle assembly branch has adopted the 'Fordist' assembly line technologies. There has nevertheless been an impressive increase in the capital concentrated and the number of persons engaged in this sector, reflecting the proliferation of the motor vehicle as the main means of transportation. The growth in vehicle registrations is linked to the construction of roads and highways stimulating activity within the construction sector.

Table 4.8 Growth In Capital, Labour Power Concentration, Horse-Power Available and Horse-Power (HP) Per Person Engaged In Transport Goods 1936 to 1966.

YEAR	CAPITAL 1956 $	PERSONS ENGAGED	HORSE-POWER	HP PER PERSON
1936	14,894,928	8,185	4,598	0.56
1951	42,925,172	17,835	37,171	2.08
1956	61,401,972	22,394	45,792	2.04
1961	79,032,149	26,664	57,901	2.17
1966	129,761,712	32,449	78,420	2.42

Source: Factory Production Series, Department of Statistics, 1936 to 1966

e. Consumer Durables Production

The capital invested in this sector doubled between 1936 and 1951, which was followed by a relatively static period between 1951 and 1956. The persons engaged fell between 1951 and 1956 and the ratio of horse-power to persons engaged also fell between 1936 and 1951. This indicates a limited market for consumer durables during this time. The major growth did not occur until after 1956 with a substantial expansion in capital accumulated.

Table 4.9 Growth In Capital, Labour Power Concentration, Horse-Power Available and Horse-Power (HP) Per Person Engaged In Consumer Durables 1936 to 1966.

YEAR	CAPITAL 1956 $	PERSONS ENGAGED	HORSE-POWER	HP PER PERSON
1936	8,301,797	5,224	13,436	2.57
1951	16,382,222	9,974	19,407	1.95
1956	18,201,718	9,470	22,371	2.36
1961	31,637,647	12,848	29,448	2.29
1966	54,325,802	21,290	46,760	2.20

Source: Factory Production Series, Department of Statistics, 1936 to 1966

The expansion is characterised by a doubling in persons engaged indicating that mechanisation is directed at the transfer phase of the labour process, and workers are employed to carry out transformation tasks. We have noted a significant increase in the number of persons involved in this sector and in the metals and machinery and transport sectors between 1951 and 1966. This growth in relation to capital invested can be contrasted with the more capital intensive growth in construction goods and land-based food and fibre production.

f. Summary and Conclusions

There are two important features in the sequence of changes we have identified. In the period between 1936 and 1956 there was steady growth in land-based food and fibre production which stimulated metals and machinery and construction goods production. The processing of forestry products for paper and allied products was established in this period as a new industrial sector. In the post-1945 period the state's stimulation of housing and other aspects of the built environment is an important ingredient in this first phase. These activities expanded the labour force and this expansion was accompanied by a fall in the value of labour power. These two features led to the second phase of the sequence by creating the conditions for the establishment of a mass market for consumer durables and the broadening of the base of monetised consumption. The accumulation of capital in consumer durables and in metals and machinery production after 1956 is consistent with this argument.

Our analysis has been limited to factory production data, which means we have not dealt with a whole series of further changes which increased the total production of the volume of goods and services and their realisation at prices reflecting their value. Increased volumes had

implications for the transport and communications sectors, and also meant that additional trade and finance activity was needed to distribute and manage the expanding circuits of capital. These increased volumes also provided the material base for an expansion in health and education services as well as the addition to the social wage. Increased motor vehicle transport for production and consumption needs also increased the need for petroleum products leading to the establishment of a nationwide fuel distribution network. Increasing reliance on electricity as a source of energy for production and consumption led to a steady building programme of hydro-electricity generating stations. The growth in oil and electricity generation was at the expense of the coal industry and the regions dependent upon coal went into decline.[9]

5. The Crisis in the Intensive Regime of Accumulation and Emergence of a More Flexible Regime

In the previous section we have been concerned with the emergence of the intensive regime of accumulation. Our focus now is the crisis in the intensive regime of accumulation and its mode of regulation.

The transition in the regime of accumulation of the 1920s and 1930s to an intensive regime of accumulation involved three main strands of development. The first concerned the growth and deepening of strategies of appropriation and substitution of agricultural land-based food and fibre production. Appropriation strategies resulted in a massive increase in the volumes of production of agricultural products, and in turn provided opportunities for accumulation in the industrial food complex and in textiles production (for example, carpets). The second strand of development related to the establishment of forestry-based fibre production, which added a new and dynamic element to the accumulation of capital in New

Zealand. The third strand of development related to the expansion of the consumption goods sector based on household durables and operations and private motor vehicles. These changes in the productive matrix of the New Zealand economy were accompanied by the expansion of wholesale/retail and finance services, and the expansion of services such as health and education delivered through the state.

One of the most vital elements of the regime of accumulation was the price level received for the products from agricultural-based food and fibre production. These prices provided the impetus for the appropriation and substitution industries. The vitality of these industries had important implications for the production of production goods such as metals and machinery and construction. From about 1974 the prices received for agriculture-based food and fibre collapsed in the international context setting off shock waves within the New Zealand economy.

A major feature of the period between 1936 and 1970 concerned the way in which the mechanisation of transformation and transfer phases of the labour process became the core element of the regime of accumulation, although as we shall see in the next section of this Chapter, the production norms of the regime of accumulation were quite varied. Relative surplus value was the main strategy for the creation of surplus value. The success of this strategy was dependent upon maintaining the accumulation of capital in transformation and transfer technologies. After about 1974 this all but ceased. At the same time export values from land-based food and fibre production suffered set backs. Gross Domestic Product growth in the period after 1970 was reduced. In the period between 1960 and 1970 Gross Domestic Product increased by 46.36%. However, in the period between 1970 and 1980 the increase in Gross

Domestic Product was 29.13% (Pearce, 1986:Vol 2:60). The cessation of the accumulation of capital in plant and equipment meant that productivity rate increases could not be maintained and the whole basis upon which the New Zealand variant of 'Fordism' was based was compromised.[10]

In the place of expansion in the forces of production between 1936 and 1970 a period of stagnation has existed since about 1974. This stagnation has been accompanied by high levels of inflation and the contraction of labour power formation in some sectors of production, relative to persons being available for employment. We can divide the period since 1974 into two periods. The first, from 1974 to 1984, and then the period from 1984 until the present. The first period represents attempts made to manage the crisis in the intensive regime of accumulation. The second period involves the realisation by the Fourth Labour Government that the intensive regime had exhausted itself. The mode of regulation which kept the intensive regime in place has been partly dismantled allowing for the emergence of a more flexible regime of accumulation to emerge which is still in its infancy. Indeed, what form the new regime of accumulation will take is very unclear, and indeed it could be argued that there are no signs of the emergence of a new regime of accumulation similar in nature to the intensive regime which is now exhausted in the sense of providing the basis for sustained economic growth. In Chapter Eight we will deal more fully with the crisis in the intensive regime of accumulation and consider some of the debates about the nature of the emerging regime of accumulation and the implications this has for the regulation of New Zealand society.

6. Aspects for Consideration

There are a number of factors which emerge out of this analysis which bears upon our study and which we need to pursue further. These are:

1. The expansion of the labour force and the implications of this expansion for the social relations within civil society. We are talking here about the way in which New Zealand was transformed socially as a result of the emergence of an intensive regime of accumulation. We will analyse the changing nature that the production norms contributed to these changes in Part Two of this Chapter.

2. The macro-distribution of the increased volumes of production leads to the question of the distribution of wages and incomes among wage-earners. We will analyse the changing distribution of incomes in relation to what we call the wages/consumption relation in Part Three of this Chapter.

3. The impact of these changes upon the consumption patterns and the social relations of the transformed mode of consumption. The central feature here concerns the lowering in the value of labour power, leading to a potential for expanded monetised consumption.

4. The effect of all of these changes upon the operation of the predatory potential of society, the exclusion tendency and the formation of an under-class.

5. The analysis has pointed to an important linkage between the accumulation of capital, rising

productivity, the participation in waged work and changing consumption norms. All of these changing forces have important implications for the moral regulation of society. We recall that Durkheim noted that where there is an increase in the productive powers of society it unsettles the moral basis of the relationship between production and consumption adding to the potential for discontent of the working class (*Suicide*:249-250). Durkheim recognised that time would be required to re-order and re-establish moral limits to what was regarded as socially acceptable and desirable in terms of consumption. We can see that the range of consumption has expanded significantly, but as we will see, the fruits of the increased production have not been shared equally, some being significantly disadvantaged in the changing configuration of the social structure. We can see from the analysis that monetary consumption expands placing much more emphasis upon monetary values, which provides an explanation as to why monetary success has become such an important feature of modernity. Merton (1968) warned that the emphasis upon monetary success when not matched with the social means of sharing in the acquisition of money creates a strain in the direction of criminal activity.

In the next section we consider the subject of the wage relation which deals with the way in which social contributions are organised, and provides the linkage in capitalist societies between production and consumption.

PART TWO: THE WAGE RELATION BETWEEN 1921 AND 1986

1. The Wage Relation 1921 to 1936

The National Industrial Conference held in 1928 is a good place to begin our analysis. This conference was convened by the Government to bring together representatives of capital and labour to try and resolve difficulties being experienced in the New Zealand economy. This conference report also highlights the contested domain of production norms, which is an area we acknowledge but do not emphasise. The major focus of the conference was the Arbitration and Conciliation system which had been established in 1894. The operation of this legislation was thought to be a major factor inhibiting adjustments which were felt to be necessary, particularly by the representatives of capital. The workers were also far from happy with the operation of the system but they sought changes within its framework. This strategy distinguished them from representatives of capital who wanted either the system abolished or the powers of the Court severely curtailed.

a. The Employers' Case

The employers' main argument was that the New Zealand economy was divided into two main sectors: the sheltered and the unsheltered industries. The sheltered industries produced for the local market and were thus sheltered from international competition.[11] The unsheltered industries competed in the international market place and did not enjoy the protection of the local market. These unsheltered industries had suffered a reverse through falling international product prices. The protagonist of the unsheltered industries argued that they were unable to adjust their industries to the changed international

conditions because of the inflexible nature of the organisation of production within New Zealand in the sheltered industries. This inflexibility created a high internal cost structure, the major cause of this problem being the Arbitration Court. The central issue concerned the way in which labour was organised. The employers argued strongly for greater flexibility in the organisation of work as a means of increasing the level of surplus value.

The Arbitration Court was thought to be inhibiting productivity growth because it specified precisely in awards the way tasks were to be carried out. This involved a very detailed account of the way in which the work would be done. The outcome of the struggle over the way work was to be done was enshrined in the award, which had the force of law behind it. This organisation of work was based upon Taylorist methods where tasks were fragmented, but nevertheless coordinated within a production process. However, the employers of the time argued that this form of labour organisation was a fetter on rising productivity. The reasons for low productivity were due largely to the low levels of mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process, rather than slackness on the part of the workers. As we will observe, however, changes in the degree of mechanisation were underway.

There is no doubt that there were considerable variations in the level of productivity between the core industries involved in appropriation and substitution strategies of capital accumulation and other sectors of production. The appropriation and substitution core industries included meat freezing, dairying and fertiliser production, and the manufacture of construction goods. However, metals and machinery, while relying upon technology was limited to small batch methods of production and craft skills. Construction proper and

most other sectors of industry had a low degree of mechanisation, and low productivity rates compared with chemicals and construction goods sectors. Those with low levels of productivity were more a reflection, however, of the relatively undeveloped stage of mechanisation in industries other than the freezing and dairy industries of the industrial food complex, chemicals and the construction goods sector.[12] The complaints of the employers are expressed in a paper by the Canterbury Chamber of Commerce which was included in the Conference report:

> In settlement of these disputes the Court makes rigid regulations regarding the minutest details of industrial relationships, each applying to all wage-earners under the particular award, and many of them disregarding local and individual differences and covering the whole Dominion. One authority says that he compiled a list of seventy different subjects of regulations under the awards in force, and added that before the war the Court's awards gave New Zealand the most complete system of state regulation of industry the modern world had ever known. Burdened with the dead weight of this amazing complex of regulation, harassed by Inspectors whose duty is to see it observed in every detail, faced on the other hand with the ever-present necessity for the maximum elasticity in making internal adjustments to meet the constant flux of change of market conditions, is it little wonder that industry has failed to make progress and to increase productivity under the arbitration system? (page 282)

The original sponsors of the Act had intended that it would only be used for the settlement of serious disputes, but in the introduction of Taylorist industrial organisation it was used as a means of codifying the arrangements reached concerning the organisation of work. This indicates fairly clearly that the organisation of work in the phase since the introduction of the Arbitration system was a prime focus of struggle between workers and employers. This struggle had become institutionalised in the Arbitration Court. One of the chief concerns of employers, as we have seen, was that

the codification of work organisation made the reorganisation of work difficult, and this inflexibility aggravated problems in periods of trade depression when pressures to change are most intense.

b. The Workers' Response

There were several counter-arguments from the workers. The main argument was that the Arbitration system had not treated them very well, as the average wage would only purchase two thirds of the consumption needs of a worker and his family. The workers were unhappy with the court, but they wanted to retain the general framework with a better deal in terms of wages and conditions. Workers also pushed for more generous compensation from employers for injuries incurred in work and for unemployment benefits. Workers attempted to use the forum of the conference to push for the socialisation of the hardships inherent in the capitalist organisation of society.

The trade union officials, as well as some Labour politicians who included Walter Nash, pointed out that troubles in the meat industry arose out of the over-accumulation of capital in good times, and that it was hardly the workers' fault now that times had changed. Workers also argued for greater productivity gains rather than reducing workers' living standards, and modifying the Arbitration system. Some of the workers' delegates chided the farmers with under-production in response to arguments about low productivity by workers. The interesting thing about the conference is that employers argued for austerity and regressive labour organisation, while the workers' response was to suggest that increased productivity and modernisation were the way to resolve the difficulties.

c. Land-based Food and Fibre Production in the 1920s and 1930s, and the Wage Relation

We will analyse the production norms in this period, firstly, in terms of land-based food and fibre production as the core of the regime of accumulation, secondly, in those sectors linked to land-based food and fibre production, and thirdly, in the service sectors.

The general tendency between the 1920s and 1986 was for the agricultural sector to make fewer relative demands upon the labour power of society, but for the volume of production to expand considerably. During the depression of the 1930s the numbers employed in agriculture grew, a factor we will deal with shortly. (See Tables 4:26 and 4:32 in the Appendix to this Chapter for detailed data). This was achieved through strategies of appropriation and substitution. The strategies of appropriation operate at the level of inputs, whereas strategies of substitution relate to the processing of farm products. It is in the sphere of production of farm inputs (such as fertiliser and machinery) and processing where a major sector of capital accumulation has arisen, and where the wage relation has expanded insofar as it affects agricultural land-based food and fibre production in the 1920s and 1930s.

In this period the forestry component of land-based food and fibre production was limited to the timber industry. The production process in agriculture is governed by bio-physical processes and is constrained by variable physical factors such as land fertility, seasonal variations and organic life cycles. In the case of forestry production there is a long period between the planting and processing of the product.

However, even within these constraints it is possible to identify the three dimensions of the labour process which

we adopted earlier. The transformation dimension is related to natural processes where nature is the processing agent, and land is the 'factory' (Goodman et al, 1987:2). Industrial appropriation focussed initially on the labour process and the chemical properties of the soil. Although nature is the processing agent there is still a great deal of labour required to assist this process. In New Zealand the emphasis has always been on livestock production, but the transformation phase of this process can be enhanced by the application of fertilisers and by the use of advanced breeding and management practices. The preparation of pastures and the tilling of the soils are important aspects here, as the mechanisation of these tasks increases the productivity of farm labour. The transfer dimension includes the movement and transfer of livestock to the freezing works, the transfer of milk products to the factory, and arable products to grain mills and so on. The control functions in this period were dependent upon the judgment of the individual farmer and/or workers.

In the period preceding the 1920s and 1930s the transformation and transfer dimensions in agriculture were dependent upon a large army of manual labourers who made up a significant segment of the labour force.[13] However, the transformation and transfer aspects of the labour process were gradually becoming mechanised and the large number of labouring men were not required to the same extent. These labouring men, many of whom were itinerants moving around the country in search of work, were a product of a labour process that was passing out of existence. Not only did they work in the agricultural sector, but they took work in the construction sector, the industrial food complex or where ever labouring work could be found. However, in the depressed economic conditions of the 1920s and 1930s alternative work was not being created quickly enough to absorb these persons

and to also absorb the expanding population which was trying to enter the labour market.

The figures compiled by Philpott and Hussey (1969), show clearly that during the period between 1921 and 1936 there was a steady build-up in the proportion of farm inputs concerned with fertiliser application, fuel and oil, and repairs and maintenance for plant and machinery. During the 1920s and 1930s the absolute numbers engaged in the sector increased, but as a total percentage of the labour force this sector made fewer demands upon the labour power of society (See Table 4.10).

Notwithstanding the depressed conditions of the 1920s and 1930s volume production increased throughout the period. According to Philpott and Hussey (1969) the volume increase for the whole of agricultural land-based food and fibre production was of the order of 67% or an average of 4.47% per annum. This was achieved in

Table 4.10 Capital Expressed In Dollars For Plant And Machinery Per Person Engaged In Agriculture, 1925 to 1936.

YEAR	PERSONS ENGAGED	$ CAPITAL PLANT/MACHINERY	CAPITAL PER PERSON ENGAGED
1925	137,000	41,899,000	305.83
1926	142,000	46,300,000	326.06
1927	148,000	49,236,000	332.68
1928	148,000	50,941,000	344.20
1929	151,000	53,203,000	352.34
1930	155,000	58,045,000	374.48
1931	159,000	60,961,000	383.40
1932	161,000	59,964,000	372.45
1933	162,000	59,938,000	369.99
1934	163,000	59,938,000	367.72
1935	163,000	60,879,000	373.49
1936	161,000	63,799,000	396.27

Source: Philpott and Hussey (1969)

circumstances of extreme financial pressure, and with a relatively smaller labour force in relation to output per person engaged. The conditions of the wage relation must be interpreted against this background. During this period the operation of appropriation strategies together with the tightening in economic pressure marginalised a significant number of wage-earners who had formerly relied upon farm and other labouring work for their livelihood. The relative contraction in employment in this sector was not compensated, however, by growth in the industrial activities which appropriated part of the farming operation, or in the processing of the expanding volume of production.

d. The Production Norms in Sectors Linked to Land-based Food and Fibre Production and Other Productive Sectors

There are a number of sectors linked to agriculture, as well as to other productive sectors. There are the appropriation and substitution sectors, along with energy production, the production of consumption goods, printing, and transport and communications. Within these various sectors we can also identify differing production norms of the core production process in terms of which dimension (that is, transformation and/or transfer technologies) of the mechanisation of the labour process is dominant.

There were a number of sectors where transformation and transfer mechanisation existed. The chemical fertiliser sector, some construction goods (such as cement), some aspects of sawmilling, and the changing nature of dairy processing being examples. In these sectors the dominant production norms involved workers controlling a mechanised flowline process. It must be acknowledged that the diffusion of both transformation and transfer technologies were limited at this time.

The second category of production norms concerns those sectors where the emphasis was upon the mechanisation of the transformation dimension. These sectors were dominated by metals and machinery production which depended upon high skill levels in the manipulation of machine tools. The production in this sector was limited to small batch production, and output norms per person engaged were low compared with the first category. The other major sector included here is textiles, clothing and footwear production. This sector was dominated by female labour and the output norms were also low.

The third category concerned the mechanisation of the transfer dimension, with the meat freezing industry after 1933 being the main example of this type of mechanisation. This form of labour process lowered the skill levels but involved intervention by the workers in the transformation tasks, demanding high energy input from the workers. This work was also seasonal which meant that workers needed to obtain work during the winter off-season. In the depressed conditions of the 1920s and 1930s this was often difficult.

The remaining category involved low degrees of mechanisation of both transformation and transfer tasks, the major sector involved here being the construction sector. Construction itself demanded the skilful use of hand tools, but it also depended upon labourers to carry out unskilled transformation and transfer tasks.[14]

Because of the undeveloped, but expanding production norms of the time, all sectors required labouring persons, but these persons were being superseded by the changing nature of the labour process. The depressed conditions of the time meant that many of these labouring men could not be incorporated into the wage relation on a full-time basis.

e. The Service Sectors

The service sectors relate to the wholesale/retail, finance, services and state services sectors. These sectors had a higher proportion of workers to total numbers of persons involved than the productive sector. This factor highlights the special character of the regime of accumulation dominated by agricultural land-based food and fibre production with relatively large numbers of capitalist and own-account farmers. The production norms of the entire service sector were undeveloped with an emphasis upon the manual manipulation of data processing and accounting procedures. Even though the wages of many persons engaged in the non-productive sector were on a par with wages in the productive sector the workers in this sector were part of the stable and settled working class. Some of the persons located in these sectors, however, enjoyed some of the highest wage levels in the labour force at this time.

f. Summary and Conclusions Concerning the Production Norms in the 1920s and 1930s

The most striking feature of the production norms in the 1920s and 1930s concerns their wide disparity in the different sectors, and in the conditions of employment. The sectors where the production norms were most fully developed were in the appropriation and substitution sectors, apart from the metals and machinery sector which depended upon high skill levels but where the output ratio was low. The appropriation strategies had marginalised a significant labouring group, and in the tightening economy of the period these persons became the core of the unemployed. In 1928 the government set up a committee to study the problem of rising unemployment which was growing throughout the 1920s. The growth in unemployment and the government's response was the result

of the changes we have noted in the regime of accumulation, its impact upon production norms, and the conditions of waged labour participation. The marginalised labouring group which emerged as a result of these changes were not incorporated into those sectors which were expanding at this time, such as the metals and machinery sector which experienced substantial growth during this period despite the depression (see Table 4.26). Participation in this sector was dependent upon skill levels and a settled lifestyle. The expansion in the industrial food complex was slow in this period, and the construction and transport sectors were not able to absorb the labouring group. In Tables 4.26 to 4.29 in the Appendix we have set out the structure of the labour force, and in Chapter Five we deal with the way in which unemployment impacted upon the different sectors. The aim is to make clear the basis upon which the exclusion tendency and the predatory potential interacted in this period.

The changed conditions of the regime of accumulation and production norms created a great deal of uncertainty, and were disruptive to participation in paid work. These conditions equate with what Durkheim called anomie as a problem of primary regulation. These conditions undermined the moral basis upon which people contribute to society, and the rewards they receive for making a contribution. In these conditions some were simply unable to make a contribution to social needs, and were accordingly denied a reward, which would have been the basis of participation in the limited mode of consumption. One of the essential ingredients of a stable and orderly society is a socially acceptable organisation of social contribution. In its absence it is not difficult to appreciate that the moral underpinning of social organisation is disturbed and compromised.

2. The Wage Relation of the Intensive Regime of Accumulation

a. The Productive Sectors

The regime of accumulation after the depression of the 1930s was transformed along certain lines. Firstly, the appropriation and substitution strategies of agricultural land-based production were expanded and deepened to include vegetable and fruit processing. Secondly, forestry processing was developed in the period after 1945, the principal activity being paper production. A third strand in the expansion of the regime of accumulation involved the establishment of a consumption goods sector based upon the production of consumer durables and household operations commodities. The expansion in these three spheres was the basis of the growth in the Zealand economy in the period between 1936 and 1970.

Four different categories of production norms emerged out of the transition from an extensive to an intensive regime of accumulation. The first group consisted of the most developed production norms. These sectors of production employ flowline production processes with a high degree of mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions. These sectors offered employment in the control of the production process. The main branches which fall into these categories are paper production, construction goods, rubber production, chemicals and chemical fertilisers, electricity generation, petroleum products and dairy processing. Varying degrees of skill are required, but in paper, construction goods, rubber production, petroleum products and chemicals much of the work does not demand a high skill level. The work in these sectors is based upon the monitoring of the production process, and maintenance of the plant and machinery. In the transition to an intensive regime of

accumulation these branches together with the industrial food complex, the metals and machinery and associated sectors, transport and the construction sector became the core areas of employment for the blue-collar working class.

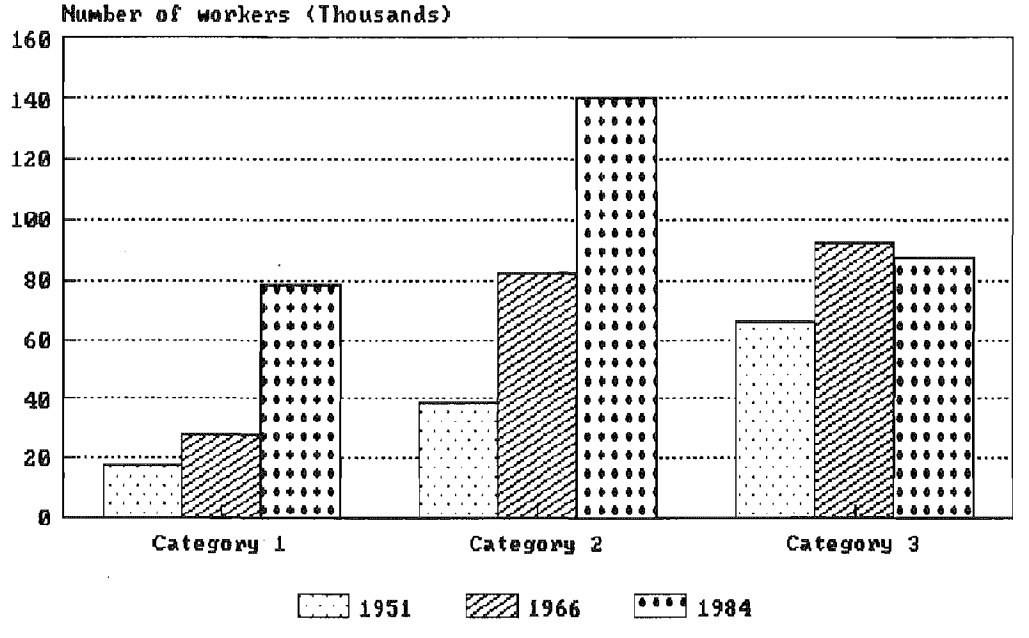
The second grouping includes the remaining branches of the industrial food complex dominated by the meat freezing industry, and the household operations and printing and publishing branches. The level of mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions was not as great as in the first group, and the work provided opportunities for skill intervention, particularly in the case of printing in the transformation phase of the labour process. The main emphasis in these sectors is upon the mechanisation of the transfer dimension, and the workers are involved in manual transformation tasks organised on Taylorist lines and having low skill levels. Meat freezing employed a reverse assembly line labour process, which involved a significant input of energy and effort from workers.

The third grouping relates to the least developed production norms and involves the small-batch engineering of the metals and machinery sectors, the textiles sector, construction and household durables production. Although the production norms are undeveloped in this group the conditions of work are quite variable. Metals and machinery production, for example, require high skill levels, although the tendency in these sectors was for the introduction of assembly line technology where the skill levels were limited to unskilled transformation tasks.

Figure 4.6 shows how the wage earning labour force in factory production was distributed among the three categories of production norms in 1951, 1966 and 1984. In 1951 there were 122,751 wage-earners in factory

production, and the numbers increased to 200,657 by 1966. Major growth in personnel occurred in the second

Figure 4.6 Distribution of Workers to Predominantly Control Tasks (Category 1), Predominantly Transformation Tasks in Relation to Transfer Technology (Category 2), and Both Transformation and Transfer Tasks (Category 3) in Factory production 1951, 1966 and 1984.



Source: Factory Production Survey 1951, 1966; Census of Manufacturing, 1984

category where transfer technologies dominate, growing from 38,711 to 82,238, and its percentage of the labour force increased from 31.57% to 40.98%. This means that major employment growth occurred in those sectors where wage-earners performed transformation tasks in relation to transfer technologies. Both categories 1 and 2 expanded in absolute terms but the proportions were decreased. Capital investment was highest in category 1, but the flowline labour process did not result in employment growth commensurate with the capital invested.

The fourth grouping includes the transport sector where there is a decline in the importance of the railways and coastal shipping. This is replaced by an expansion in road and air transport. The transport sector involves the management and control of machinery as the core ingredient of the labour process. This required periods of training in some branches, such as the railways and the airlines. In the case of road transport skills are acquired through 'learning by doing'. The road transport sector provided opportunities for employment for the less skilled workers and attracted many Maori persons.

b. <u>The Service Sectors</u>

We include in the service sectors the remainder of the labour force, the specific sectors being recreation services, wholesale/retail, finance, household services, and services provided through the state (for example, health, education, public administration and social control). These sectors experienced significant growth in the period between 1945 and 1971, and also in many sectors from 1971 onwards. The general tendency for these sectors is to double in absolute terms, but to also make greater relative demands upon the labour power of society during this period (see Tables 4.33 to 4.38). The situation is complicated in the case of state services given the high proportion of persons in the armed forces in 1945. However, if we allow for the numbers in the armed forces, the growth in state services was not quite as great in percentage terms as in the case of recreation services, wholesale/retail, finance and household services.

Access to employment in these sectors was, and still is dependent upon either skills and training levels, or upon certain social skills, apart from some limited aspects of recreation services and household services. In this period the production norms of most of these sectors were

undeveloped and they tended to be labour intensive. This is particularly the case in health and education services provided through the state. These sectors have been a fruitful source of employment for female labour, again in education and health care services. The growth in these sectors between 1945 and 1971 was significant, as even a cursory examination of Tables 4.33 to 4.38 reveals, but the major growth rates occur in some of these sectors after 1971. We will deal with this in due course.

c. Summary of the Production Norms Under the Intensive Regime of Accumulation

The transition from an extensive to an intensive regime of accumulation involved major changes in the nature of the production norms of the productive sectors of the labour force. These changes related to the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process, and involved employment growth in the control of machinery and technology. The greatest growth was in the sectors which used transfer technology and employed workers to undertake manual transformation tasks. As we showed, these changes are linked to three major changes in the structure of the regime of accumulation in the period between 1936 and 1971.

Each of these development strands resulted in expanding employment with highly varied production norms. These developments involved employment opportunities for the unskilled, or what we describe as a second tier or segment of the labour force. This second tier included sectors of factory production, such as those employing persons to perform transformation tasks in fabricated metals and machinery production, food production outside the meat and dairy sectors, textiles production, urban road transport and construction labouring. These sectors of the labour force were the main spheres of employment available for the unskilled and untrained, those lacking

strong union affiliation or organisation, or those lacking the social skills for employment in the service sectors.

The period between 1945 and 1970 was one where participation in waged work provided fewer barriers than was the case in the 1920s and 1930s, or in the period since the mid-seventies. This was also a period in which the range of consumption also expanded. These factors increased the level of rewards for contributions made, and established a definite morality of what was acceptable in terms of production and consumption. In this period as we will see one of the main concerns of working class households was to develop a strategy to engage in the expanded style of consumption.

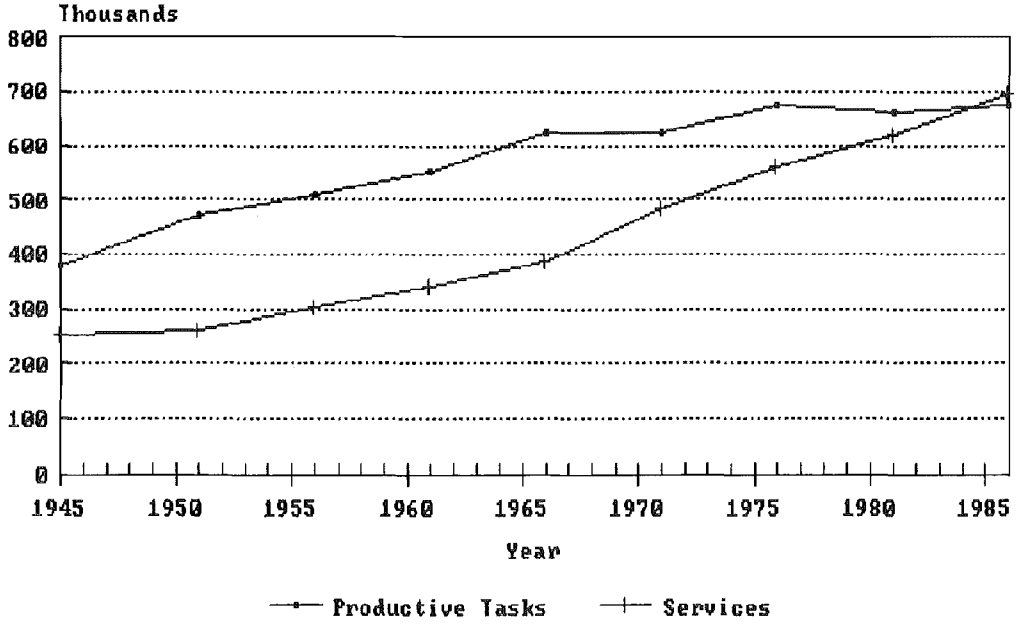
3. The Wage Relation and the Production Norms in the Period of the Crisis in the Intensive Regime of Accumulation

The transition to an intensive regime of accumulation between 1936 and 1971 resulted, as we have seen, in the transformation of the production norms, and thereby altered the basis of participation in waged work. In the period between 1921 and 1936 we noted that an under-class emerged which was severely disadvantaged in the labour market. In the period between 1945 and 1970 at least a two tier labour market is identifiable with stable employment in many sectors. However, a group of unskilled workers was located in three different sectors: firstly, the core production process of those sectors of factory production relying upon 'Fordist' forms of production; secondly, urban freight transport; and thirdly, construction labouring. Changes in the regime of accumulation after 1970 put these persons in a precarious position in relation to participation in waged work. We will now consider how the structure of the working class was affected by the crisis in the intensive

regime of accumulation, and how this generated a precarious under-class.

The rate of growth in the labour force was much slower from 1971 onwards (See Tables 4.30 to 4.45). The growth rate in the productive sector has been much slower than in the service sector (see Figure 4.7). In relative terms the productive sectors in fact made fewer demands upon the labour power of society after 1971. We include tasks such as retailing and financial services as part

Figure 4.7 Changing Distribution of the Labour Force Between Productive and Service Tasks, 1945 to 1986.



Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1986

of the service sectors of the labour force. However, the relative growth and contraction varies from sector to sector. The growth of the labour force where it does occur has been in the wholesale/retail, finance and state service sectors. The labour force growth has been slower than the growth in the population between ages 15 and 65

years. In other words the labour force participation rates have fallen, and unemployment rates have gradually built-up since the mid-1970s and by December 1989 the rate of registered unemployed was roughly 12% of the labour force.[15]

The crisis in the regime of intensive accumulation led to a lower rate of capital accumulation in the traditional spheres of appropriation and substitution strategies associated with land-based food and fibre production. In Table 4.11 we have shown the amount invested in plant and machinery at nominal values between 1977 and 1985. We have also shown the probability of the sum invested by industrial sector.

Table 4.11 Capital Invested and the Probability Ratios of that Investment in Plant and Machinery by Sector of Production 1977 to 1985 ($000,000s nominal).

	CAPITAL ($000,000s Nominal)	RATIO
INTERMEDIATE GOODS PRODUCTION	5,556	.28552
CONSTRUCTION	1,334	.06855
METALS	1,009	.05185
MACHINERY	820	.04214
AGRICULTURE	1,412	.07256
FOOD	1,848	.09497
TEXTILES	377	.01937
OTHER MANUFACTURING	27	.00139
WHOLESALE/RETAIL	2,463	.12657
FINANCE	1,611	.08279
TRANSPORT/COMMUNICATION	1,456	.07482
STATE SERVICES	1,066	.05478
CONSOLIDATED FUND	480	.02467
TOTAL	19,459	1.00000

Source: NZ System of National Accounts, 1988

The influence of the 'Think Big'[16] projects is clear from Table 4.11. The largest sum by any one sector was in the production of intermediate goods sectors relating to the

energy projects. These include an oil refinery at Whangarei, the synthetic fuels project in Taranaki, and the hydro-electric works in the South Island, one of which is delayed through geological problems with the instability of the dam site. Nearly half of the amount for intermediate goods production related to the investments in 1982 and 1983 in the chemicals and petroleum branches of production. The energy projects involve a labour process which is based upon flowline production, and where all three phases of the production process are mechanised. These energy projects have resulted in minimal employment growth.

According to Blackburn et al (1985) the mechanisation of the control dimension of the labour process starts to become diffused throughout industry from the 1970s. There is some evidence of this having happened during this phase of the crisis of the intensive regime of accumulation. Fitzgerald and Thorns (1987) refer to the numeric computer technology being introduced into the mechanisation of work in their case study of a Christchurch engineering firm.

The introduction of computer technology in the wholesale/ retail and finance sectors is apparent from Table 4.11. The advance in the use of computer accounting is one of the most striking features of the crisis in the intensive regime of accumulation and the emergence of a new regime of accumulation, even though its shape is far from clear at this time. The introduction of this technology has altered the production norms of these two sectors, dramatically resulting in uneven employment growth rates. Wholesale/retail employment expanded by 28.92% or an annual average of 1.92%. Employment in finance on the other hand grew by 65.86% between 1971 and 1986, representing an average of 4.39% per annum.[17] Much of the growth in these sectors has involved female labour undertaking rudimentary tasks involving the use of

computer equipment. The volume of goods handled in the wholesale/retail sector has increased, but the employment has not advanced at the same pace owing to the changes introduced in the methods of delivering goods to the customers in modern supermarkets. In the modern supermarket the customer helps him/herself and then passes through a checkout counter. This method of operation has resulted in fewer persons in relation to the volumes handled.[18]

The investment in plant and machinery in the construction sector relates largely to the construction goods sectors. The nature of on-site construction has meant that this sector has been resistant to increased productive norms, but the factory production of components, and the introduction and now universal use of pre-mixed concrete for example, has resulted in increased productivity in construction. The on-site labour content of a dwelling house has fallen considerably in recent times as more off-site assembly is carried out. On-site construction is transformed into the assembly of components produced in a factory. This process is analogous to the transformation of the agricultural labour process by strategies of appropriation. One of the consequences of these changes is the reduction in the demand for construction labourers for on-site construction.[19]

According to the National Accounts for the years 1977 to 1985 the construction sector was involved in capital formation amounting to $28.53 billion, which represented 47.46% of all capital formation in the period. It is impossible for us to compare and contrast this with earlier periods, but even given the high levels of inflation in the period involved it does seem a significant amount, and provided the basis for an expansion in the capital formation within the sector itself.[20]

The machinery sector was and has been adversely affected by the fall in the accumulation of capital in the appropriation strategies associated with land-based food and fibre production. The plight of these firms is highlighted in Fitzgerald and Thorns' (1987) case study of a Christchurch engineering firm. This firm reached a peak in 1967, but had problems with its profitability after that time. This resulted in rationalisation of its production and a series of mergers and takeovers until it was itself taken over. The firm also introduced control technology to increase its productivity levels as it struggled to survive in fiercely competitive and depressed market conditions. This firm's operations in Christchurch have since closed. Fitzgerald and Thorns' (1987) study also highlights the fate of other Christchurch engineering firms who have closed or been taken over in the last ten years. These firms have not been able to participate in the 'Think Big' projects and have been dependent upon the servicing and supply of engineering services to the more traditional sectors of capital accumulation in New Zealand.[21]

Less than 10% of the plant and machinery investment related to the industrial food complex. The meat freezing industry tended to continue its policy of plant modification to meet hygiene regulations, rather than transform the production norms of the branch. On the other hand it seems that the dairy processing sector did deepen the investment in control technology (Le Heron, 1988). The numbers engaged in the industrial food complex continued to rise after 1971 until 1981, but from then the numbers engaged have declined. The recent moves involving the restructuring of meat freezing suggests that the numbers engaged in the industrial food complex will have fallen even further since 1986. According to the Enterprise Surveys conducted by the Department of Statistics between 1986 and 1989, the number employed in meat freezing declined by 8,480, or by 21.56%.[22] Between

1981 and 1986, the reduction in the industrial food complex was 7,653 persons (See Table 4.29).

In the period since 1977 the capital invested in the transport sector has amounted to 10.93% of all capital invested. The major item consists of transport equipment, reflecting heavy investment in road transport equipment in the form of large trucking rigs, aeroplanes and railway rolling stock. Although the volume growth in investment has been substantial, the sector has made fewer relative demands upon the labour power of society and in fact, by 1986 the numbers engaged were trending downwards. The sector had for many years been subject to regulation and control, but the emphasis is now upon market competition to sort out the allocation of resources. One of the major losses in employment has been in the Railways, another sector which offered employment for the less skilled members of the labour force (See Table 4.33).

The diffusion of telecommunications technology, particularly the automation of the telephone system has stemmed employment growth in the communications sector. This had been a fruitful source of female employment as operators in telephone exchanges. This innovation together with the changes in the transport sector accounts for the relative decline in employment in this sector.[23]

Figure 4.6 shows major changes in the distribution of employment between the categories of production norms identified in the previous section. The major growth in employment is in the capital intensive sectors using flowline production processes. These sectors, according to the 1984 Manufacturing Census, employed 25.57% of all persons in the factory production sector compared with 13.91% in 1966. Category 2 also expanded in relative terms from 40.98% to 45.91%, but category three declines

from 91,498 persons to 87,232, which is a drop from 45.60% to 28.52%.

The greatest volume increase in employment between 1971 and 1986 was in the state services sector with an expansion from 151,079 to 256,491 persons engaged. This is an increase of 68.44%, or 4.56% per annum. In percentage terms this is slightly higher than the growth in the finance sector. The growth in employment in the state services sector is distributed across health and education services, social control agencies, administration, and the provision of what we will call the social wage. The increase in the social wage and the persons required to administer it relate to the social crisis raging within civil society which we will deal with in due course. The expansion in employment in state services is a manifestation of the increasing share of consumption absorbed by the state sector, and an important ingredient of the crisis of the intensive regime of accumulation.

Employment in some branches of state services required skill levels, or at least social skills, compatible with white collar work. One of the major innovations in this sector has been the application of computer and telecommunications technologies to some aspects of work within the administration branches of state services. However, services such as health and education have been, and still are resistant to technological innovation. These branches are themselves undergoing major changes at this time in order to reduce the drain on surplus value that they currently pose. Indeed there are signs that these activities might be transformed into spheres of surplus value production themselves as a means of resolving the drain on surplus value.[24]

The crisis in the intensive regime of accumulation has had significant implications for the structure of New

Zealand society. In the period between 1945 and 1971 the production norms of New Zealand society were transformed, changing entirely the basis for participation in waged work. This change was based upon the mechanisation of transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process. The effects of this were uneven across the labour force, and we were able to identify a number of groupings within the labour force based upon the production norms of the sectors involved. The core of the blue collar labour force was located in the appropriation and downstream processing industries of land-based food and fibre production. It is these industries which are now undergoing major change. These changes involve the introduction of computer-based technologies aimed at the control dimension, and the further mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process. This is affecting all three categories of production norms. The clear implication of this innovation is that fewer persons will be required for the manual transformation and control tasks which formed an important element in the expansion of the labour force between 1945 and 1971.

The emphasis in employment changes since 1971 are linked to the crisis in the intensive regime of accumulation. This crisis has involved modest capital accumulation which appears to be based upon the introduction of the new control technology in the design, manufacturing, administration, finance and retailing sectors. The influence of the state in initiating 'Think Big' investment strategies in the energy and metals production sectors is important in terms of investment patterns, but these investments have made a negligible contribution to employment growth, except in stimulating in some parts of the country the construction and metals and machinery sectors. However, once the major projects were completed the construction and metals and machinery sectors in these areas have been seriously compromised. The

experiences of Whangarei and New Plymouth bear this out, where there were major company failures in the construction and engineering sectors.

There has been growth in health and education services through the state and the expansion of the social control network. The provision of a social wage associated with the crisis of the intensive regime of accumulation has been another source of employment growth. We have been able to observe a tightening in the employment prospects for the blue collar segment of the labour force, or those lacking social skills for white collar work. Growth in blue collar employment is likely to be restricted to those with skills associated with numeric control computers and an understanding of the production process. This implies relatively high levels of skill for the workers involved, which is to this extent, contrary to the de-skilling thesis offered by Braverman (1974). These skills are very different from the craft-type skills which concerned Braverman, although they may well incorporate some of them. There is also likely to be growth in mundane and trivial service work associated with the provision of services to the segment of households capable of what Davis (1986:219) calls 'over-consumption'. We will return to this theme in Chapter Eight.

Whereas it was relatively easy for persons to participate in waged work in the period between 1945 and 1970, this has proved difficult for increasing numbers of persons since 1970 with rising levels of unemployment. This has affected many young persons, as well as the Maori people being adversely affected. This factor has seriously disrupted the moral basis of the contribution norms. A common feature of those profiled in the vignettes in Chapter One was exclusion from participation in waged labour, and as we will see in Chapters Six and Seven many involved in criminal activities spurn participation in

waged-work, which is associated with exclusion in the first place. The emphasis in the ideological debate in recent times has centred on the need for the regime of accumulation in New Zealand to become internationally competitive. The argument and ideology is that there is no alternative. However, the implications of facing international competition is that further wide-ranging changes of the labour process will be necessary to achieve and maintain competitiveness. This can only perpetuate uncertain and disruptive conditions of waged labour.[25] It is also likely that had protection for the domestic manufacturing industries continued, these sectors would have still experienced grave difficulties. As we will argue in Chapter Eight there are drives for a more flexible labour process which will continue trends to casualisation of the wage relation, adding to instability and undermining the moral basis of social contributions.

The moral nature of the contribution norms as the underpinning of the division of labour was a feature of social organisation to which Durkheim drew our attention. By concentrating upon the material basis of the wage relation, our analysis makes clear the changing nature of the underlying moral basis of social contributions, and to highlight crucial aspects of the current pattern of crime which we will address in chapter Seven.

4. The Regime of Accumulation, the Wage Relation and the Creation of an Under-class

In the previous section we have reviewed the wage relation in terms of the production norms of different sectors. This was studied in relation to the way in which the changing regime of accumulation had altered the production norms, which in turn altered the basis of participation in waged work. Although not explicitly stated, Durkheim's insistence on the moral nature of the

participation in waged work as the way in which the bulk of society make a contribution to the needs of society, and in return for so doing receive a reward, has been implicit in our analysis. The moral nature of contributions and rewards becomes important when we consider in more detail the nature of the forces of primary and secondary regulation which shape the strategies of individuals. However, this question cannot be analysed without a clear and explicit account of the wage relation and its changing pattern.

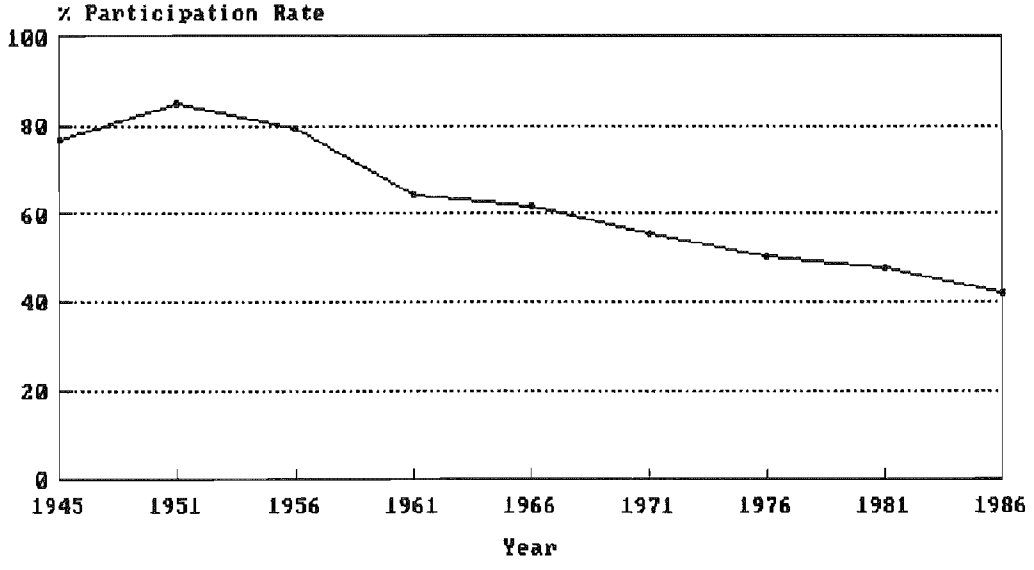
We are particularly interested in studying the way in which the changing nature of the regime of accumulation has created an under-class, and how this under-class has responded to its marginalisation. The marginalisation of an under-class disrupts the contribution and reward norms of society and provides an initial impetus to predatory activity by the members of that class. However, as we will see, the impetus to predatory activity depends upon the nature of the interaction between the predatory potential and the exclusion from participation in waged work. We will enlarge upon this in Chapter Seven.

In the period between 1921 and 1936 the changing nature of the extensive regime of accumulation, and the crisis of this regime, marginalised a group of itinerant men who depended upon manual labouring work for their livelihoods. This group were not needed in the same numbers as a result of the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process in land-based food and fibre production. This group constituted an under-class, whose existence was attributable to the changing demands of the regime of accumulation.

The period between 1945 and 1971 involved the deepening of the mechanisation of transformation and transfer technology in land-based food and fibre production and

other sectors. In this period the labour force expanded considerably and the participation rates of all age groupings expanded, apart from those in the 15-19 age range and in the grouping over 55 years of age. In the case of persons between the ages of 15 and 19 years, the participation rates are set out in Figure 4.8 and Table 4.39. The participation rates reached a peak of 85.34% in 1951, and have steadily decreased as a result of these persons staying at school longer, but also being unable to enter the labour force freely since the onset of the crisis in the intensive regime of accumulation. According to the 1986 Census the participation rate of this group was 42.05% which was the lowest level of participation for any age grouping, apart from the 55-64 and 65-74 age groupings.

Figure 4.8 Percentage Participation Rates of Persons Between 15 and 19 Years in the Labour Force, 1945 to 1986.



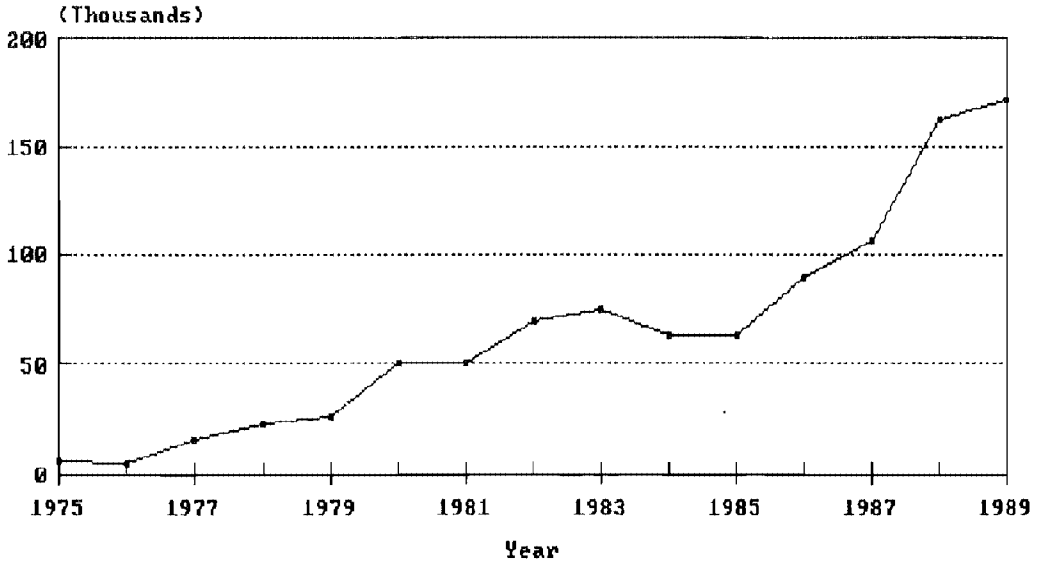
Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1986

The creation of an under-class in the period since 1971 has been associated with the problem of young persons entering the labour force. It is also associated with the fall in growth of the labour force in the traditional blue collar sectors, which was the basis of expansion in the period between 1945 and 1971. The sectors worst affected have been the 'Fordist' core of factory production, where between 1986 and 1989 alone 45,127 full time equivalent jobs have been lost (Enterprise Survey, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989). On the other hand there has been a growth in employment in some sectors of the service sectors, particularly in finance, business services and real estate, as well as government administration (see Tables 4.33 and 4.35). However, work in these sectors requires certain social skills and training, which many persons do not possess. The lifestyle practices and culture which accompanied participation in the blue collar segment of the labour force can often be just as much an impediment as a lack of occupational skills to participation in white collar work.

One of the most striking developments of the 1980s is the growth in part-time work and the casualisation of some of the productive and service sectors. We observed above that between 1945 and 1970 a segment of the labour force was located in the 'Fordist' core of manufacturing, in construction labouring, and in urban freight transport. The construction sector has had periods of significant activity, with an expansion in the persons engaged, but changes in the construction labour process has reduced the relative demand for construction labourers.[26] The persons located in the 'Fordist' core of factory production, in construction labouring and in urban freight transport have been the most adversely affected in the labour market, and now form the core of the unemployed in general, and the long term unemployed in particular. Part-time and casual work is dominated by

women, and those men who exist on the fringes of the labour market and who drift in and out of casual work and unemployment. Figure 4.9 shows the increase in the number of registered unemployed since 1970.

Figure 4.9 Registered Unemployed 1975 to 1989.



Source: Department of Labour Statistics 1975 to 1989

Since the mid-1970s there have not been enough jobs to match the numbers in the population between the ages of 15 and 64 years, and this impacts most seriously upon those within the 15-19 age range. In the period between 1945 and 1970 the production norms were significantly altered and this also changed the material basis of New Zealand society. Since the mid-1970s the regime of accumulation has been in crisis, and many of the competencies and skill levels developed in the period between 1945 and 1970 have become obsolete. The lifestyle practices and culture which accompanied these competency and skill levels have also been threatened and undermined. The emerging generation of those affected by these changes have been socialised in disrupted and unstable conditions, and these factors have compromised the commitment of those concerned to the contribution and

reward norms. This leaves a very shaky moral underpinning to a significant segment of New Zealand society, which Durkheim warned us was a fertile climate for rising crime rates (see Chapter Six).

The changing conditions we have outlined above have meant that the exclusion tendency of New Zealand society has operated at varying degrees of intensity. The intensity was high during the 1920s and 1930s, but less so during the period between 1945 and 1970. As we have seen, the exclusion tendency has once again assumed a high level of intensity. However, the exclusion tendency is only one of the twin features which governs the imprisonment-offending cycle. We now turn our attention to the sphere of consumption in order to lead ultimately to a consideration of the predatory potential. Our analysis of consumption will be carried out in two stages. In the next section we deal with the changing nature of the wages/consumption relation in order to study the extent to which the 'Fordist' mode of consumption had become diffused throughout New Zealand society. In Chapter Five we study the regulation of the mode of consumption in more general terms.

PART THREE: EXPENDITURE PATTERNS, THE MODE OF CONSUMPTION AND THE WAGES/CONSUMPTION RELATION

1. Introduction

We have carried out an analysis of the expenditure patterns in relation to the costs of the limited and 'Fordist' modes of consumption and related these to the income distribution as disclosed in the censuses between 1921 and 1986. We have used several surveys and a study by Metwally in 1968 of the Hamilton area (Metwally, 1970). The first of these surveys was conducted by the

Department of Statistics in 1930 (Household Budget Survey, 1930), there was another survey carried out in 1938 by the DSIR (AJHR H43 1944), and another in 1962 by the Federation of Labour. We have also used the Household Budget surveys conducted by the Department of Statistics since 1973-74.

On the basis of the data contained in these various studies we have constructed notional limited and 'Fordist' consumption baskets. The limited consumption basket, which reflects the limited mode of consumption is based on the 1930 survey. The 'Fordist' consumption basket is based upon the Department of Statistics' survey done between 1981 and 1982.[27] We have then used the Consumers' Price Index to calculate the notional expenditure of these two consumption baskets for each year between 1923 and 1986. We have then established what we call three notional levels of consumption. Level 1 relates to the notional cost of the limited consumption basket, and Level 3 equates with the notional cost of the 'Fordist' basket of consumption. Level 2 represents the difference between Levels 1 and 3 of the notional costs of the limited and 'Fordist' consumption baskets. We have calculated the distribution of incomes as revealed in the New Zealand Census between 1926 and 1986 and then related this distribution to the three levels of consumption. We call this the wages/consumption relation. The aim here is to calculate the numbers of wage-earners or households, as the case may be, and the percentage of incomes in each of the levels of the wages/consumption relation.

In the period between 1923 and 1936 the bulk of wage-earners' incomes, and the incomes of households are located in Level 1. In other words there were few wage-earners or households who had incomes which exceeded the norms of the limited mode of consumption. In this period few wage-earners' incomes reached Level 1 and households required more than one income to reach the norms of the

limited mode of consumption. The general trend after 1945 is for the percentage of wage-earners and household incomes to shift to Levels 2 and 3 of the wages/consumption relation.

The measure of the numbers and percentages in the different levels of the wages/consumption relation is an index of the extent to which the 'Fordist' mode of consumption had become generalised across New Zealand society. The 'Fordist' mode of consumption involves a deepening and diversification of the mode of consumption. This deepening and diversification implies that an expanded range of monetised consumption is possible. It does not tell us what concrete consumption practices are - that is not the purpose of the measure. The shift in the number and percentage of incomes to the higher levels of the wages/consumption relation has four main implications for our research which we summarise as follows:

1. Increased social fluidity. Under the limited mode of consumption the degree of monetised consumption was limited, and many spheres of activity were regulated and governed by reciprocal forms of social control. Under the 'Fordist' mode of consumption exchange mechanisms become more important in coordinating the actions of social agents. This factor, coupled with the greater individual and private use of the means of consumption, ruptured the reciprocal means of regulating social activity. This factor in our opinion is the immediate reason for the increasing egoistic nature of New Zealand society (Durkheim, 1951).

2. The social relation between the generations was restructured as a result of the transition from a limited mode of consumption to a 'Fordist' mode of

consumption. The 'Fordist' mode of consumption mechanised many features of domestic labour which transformed the basis of contributions made towards domestic labour and thereby altered the social relations within households, as well as the social relations within civil society. This factor is closely related to the increasing social fluidity referred to in the previous point. This feature of New Zealand society is at the root of the anomic character of New Zealand society insofar as it affects the emerging generations.

3. The increased degree of social fluidity, and the changing inter-generational relations altered the operation of the interaction between the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency.

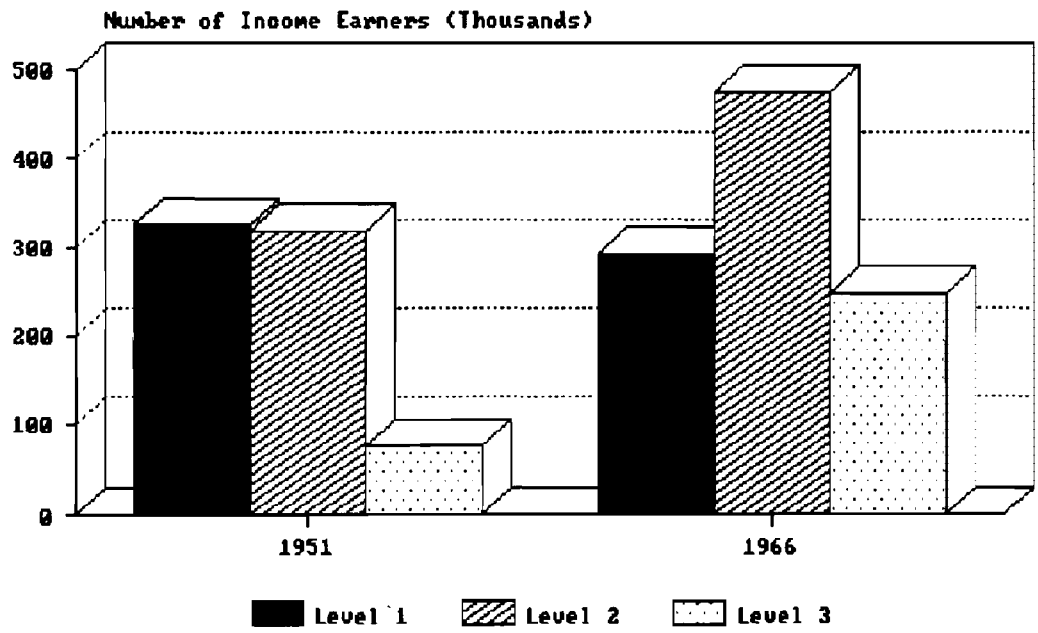
4. The relationship between production and consumption according to Durkheim, is based upon moral and normative standards of what is or is not an appropriate standard of consumption. If the basis of consumption changes then these moral and normative standards are disrupted. We have noted in Chapter Three and in Parts One and Two of this Chapter, a change in the regulation of the regime of accumulation from absolute to relative surplus value which resulted in increases in productivity, in turn leading to changes in the wage relation. Accompanying these changes were increasing standards and norms of consumption. We have pointed out, however, that there are certain pre-conditions for participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, and we have noted that participation in waged labour regulates access to participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, but we then need to pose the question of "what happens when this participation is disrupted?" We can only answer this question in relation to the other issues we raised above in

points 1, 2, and 3, and our detailed analysis of these questions will be deferred until Chapter Five.

2. The Wages/Consumption Relation 1945 to 1971

Between 1945 and 1961 there is a marked reduction in the number of wage-earners in Level 1 from 396,319 to 204,929, and a corresponding decrease in the percentage of wage-earners in this Level, with the percentage falling from 65.27% to 23.15%. The numbers engaged in the labour force, however, increased from 607,240 to 885,083 in this period. During this time the tendency is for the numbers in Levels 2 and 3 to increase, with the most marked increase in Level 3 occurring between 1956 and 1961. In absolute numbers the increase of wage-earners in Level 3 is from 101,835 to 195,840. This represented an increase from 12.55% of the labour force to 22.13% of the labour force. In 1961 76.85% of the labour force had incomes in Level 2 or 3 which is a

Figure 4.10 Distribution of Incomes in the Wages/ Consumption Relation 1951 and 1966.



Source: New Zealand Census 1951, 1966

significant shift in the volume and percentage of New Zealand society who were moving to the point of being able to participate fully in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. This shift indicates the formation of a mass market for household durables, household operations goods and motor vehicles, which coincides with the accumulation of capital in these sectors which we noted in Part One of this Chapter. The changes in the wages/consumption relation in this period are shown in Figure 4.10.

We are dealing here with the income of wage-earners, which is not the same thing as the total income of households. We do not have total household income until the census of 1976. We do have the incomes of the heads of household, prior to 1976, which confirms the trend for a larger percentage moving into the second and third levels of the wages/consumption relation. The percentage of the incomes of heads of households in Level 1 tends to fall until 1961. The heads of households in Level 2 reaches its highest point in 1951, but then tends to remain quite static. The numbers of heads of households in Level 3 increases markedly between 1945 and 1961 increasing by more than 500%. This means of course that the percentage of heads of households as a ratio of total households in Level 3 increases in this time between 1945 and 1961. We will enlarge upon these question in the next Chapter.

It is clear that by 1961 the bulk of wage-earners and households had incomes in Levels 2 and 3. It means in practical terms that we can discern a major shift from the limited mode of consumption to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The qualitative shift from one mode of consumption to another becomes most noticeable between 1956 and 1961. Even although most incomes were below Level 3, one of the main imperatives for households in this period was to base their wages/consumption

strategies upon the norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. It seems to us that to appreciate what was happening at this time it is more accurate to regard these strategies as struggles and sacrifices involving hard work, commitment and dedication. It is important to remind ourselves of the skills, abilities and attitudes required to participate in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. It is also important to appreciate the changes in the regime of accumulation and the wage relation which we have already dealt with. The transition to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption occurred in the context of a remaking of the production norms which altered the basis of participation in waged work. Participation in waged work based upon varying production norms also provided the material basis for differences in the tastes and lifestyle practices.

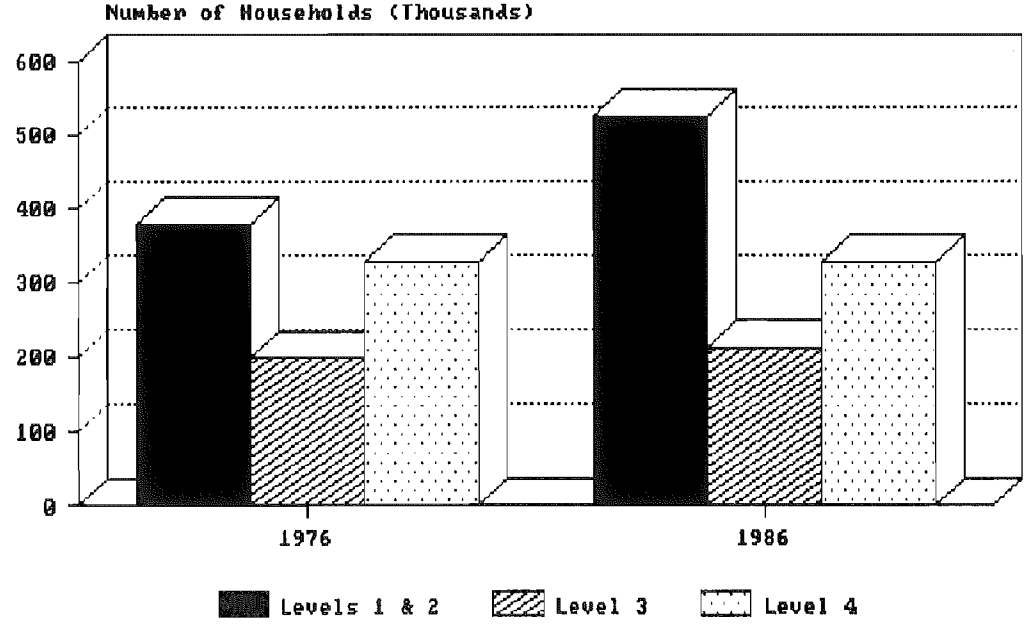
During the 1960s the structure of the wages/consumption relation underwent some changes. In the decade between 1961 and 1971 the percentage and number of wage-earners in Level 1 increased, reversing a trend which had operated between 1945 and 1961. This was the result of additional women coming into the labour force relative to men, and younger men entering the labour force. In the 1970s the numbers and percentage in Level 1 of the wages/consumption relation fell and by 1981 a relatively small residue of wage-earners were left in Level 1. This needs some qualification, however, as our figures refer to the full-time labour force. By 1981 the part-time labour force was recognised in the Census and recorded separately, and there were significant numbers of wage-earners in this category, particularly women. These figures also do not include the growing ranks of unemployed who during the 1970s become a significant sector of low income persons depending upon the unemployment benefit for their subsistence.

3. The Wages/Consumption Relation 1971 to 1986

The most reliable guide as to how the wages/consumption relation underwent change in this period is by an analysis of total household income, which we have from 1976. By 1976 most household incomes were located in Level 3, and this pattern has continued through until at least 1986. However, between 1981 and 1986 the number of households in Level 3 fell and there was marked growth in the group in Level 2. These figures, however, obscure a polarisation of the wages/consumption relation which had taken place by 1976, and continued at least until 1986.

We have recalculated the wages/consumption levels by combining Levels 1 and 2 and by treating those with incomes one and a half times Level 3 as a new level, Level 4. This recalculation of the wages/consumption relation shows that by 1976 it is possible to identify

Figure 4.11 Distribution of Household Income in the Wages/Consumption Relation for 1976 and 1986.



Source: New Zealand Census 1976, 1986

two main groups of households relative to the wages/ consumption relation (see Figure 4.11). There are those households who have the capacity to engage in what Davis calls 'overconsumption' (1986:219), and a larger group of households whose incomes are under the norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. There is a third, but quite small group in the middle whose incomes are sufficient to cover the norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. There is a marked distribution of incomes within both Levels 1 and 2 and within Level 4. Households with incomes three and four times the equivalent of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption are not uncommon. On the other hand, households with incomes equivalent to the norms of the limited mode of consumption are not uncommon either.

We have shown how the period between 1971 and 1986 represents a crisis in the intensive regime of accumulation. In this period the wage relation underwent important changes which we have outlined, creating an under-class. We will now consider which sectors were affected and in what ways in relation to the wages/consumption relation.

Employment growth was greatest in the finance and state service sectors of the labour force in this period. There was more modest growth in the wholesale/retail sector. All other sectors had relatively small growth, or contracted in real or relative terms (see Tables 4.30 to 4.37). In the blue collar sectors employment growth was affected by a slowing in the growth of transformation and transfer technology and the introduction of computer control technology. This lowered the demand for process workers, but increased the demand for those with computer skills and those with a knowledge of the production process. These workers and the management staff of these sectors were successful in the period between 1971 and 1984 in improving their consumption capacity in relation

to the wages/consumption relation. On the other hand process workers and the unskilled who relied on the industrial food complex or the construction industry for employment were disadvantaged during this period of the crisis.[28]

The sectors which gained most in terms of the wages/consumption relation during the first stage of the crisis were the finance and state services sectors. Those engaged in education, health care and social control tasks were some of the main benefactors during this first stage of the crisis up to 1984. Although there was no relative expansion in the transport and communications sector, there was a significant shift in the percentage of incomes in this sector moving into the higher levels of the wages/consumption relation. This reflects the relative gains made by airline staff wages, and the growing importance of airlines for domestic passenger transport.[29]

4. Summary and Conclusions Relating to the Wages/ Consumption Relation 1945 to 1986

In the period between 1945 and 1971 the volume of production increased steadily and the ratio of consumption and accumulation remained quite stable during this period. In real terms the volumes consumed increased and this was reflected in a general shift in the consumption levels of New Zealand society. By 1961 there had been a qualitative shift, with the majority of wage-earners located in the middle level of the wages/consumption relation. The rate of shift of incomes to higher levels slowed in the period between 1961 and 1976, but there was a perceptible movement to the upper levels nevertheless. By 1981 only a relatively small number of wage-earners in full time employment were still located in Level 1 of the wages/consumption relation. However, this obscures the build-up in unemployment and

part-time employment. A more reliable guide to the movements and changes in the wages/consumption relation is the incomes of households. This shows that by 1976 two tiers of the wages/consumption relation had developed. One group was capable of overconsumption (Davis 1986:219) and another larger group whose incomes were below the norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

The important point about this realignment in the wages/consumption relation is that it occurred in a situation where the volumes available for consumption were static in real terms. The realignment means that some households were able to increase their consumption level at the expense of other sectors. The winners generally were those who remained in employment, but the major benefactors were those with skills in computer and process technology, and the management staffs of these companies within the blue collar sector. Those in the state services and finance sectors also benefitted in this period, and the airline branch of the transport sector also increased their relative share of consumption. On the other hand the growing pool of unemployed did not benefit and were subjected to a level of consumption below the norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

Notes

1. The average unit wage (AUW) is a concept used by Farjoun and Machover (1986). The AUW is obtained by dividing the total wages paid by the total hours worked. This unit is then used to calculate wage levels in relation to the AUW. For example, wages might vary from 0.50 to 1.75 of the AUW. Farjoun and Machover (1986) also use the concept 'specific price' which refers to the number of units of the AUW a product costs. We have used

both of these concepts as a means of obtaining standard rates which are not affected by inflation. We attempt to measure the cost of consumption baskets in relation to the AUW. In the 1920s and 1930s an average hour's wage would purchase a certain number of commodities, but the trend has been for the average hour's wage to purchase more and more commodities. This is a measure of the falling value of labour power.

2. The results reported for 1928 are typical of this period, and are evidence of significant intervention in the affairs of households. In 1928 for example there were more than 15,000 home visits undertaken (AJHR H31 1928).

3. The strategies of farmers were, therefore, quite different to the strategies adopted within the wider regime of accumulation. However, during this period appropriation strategies were having a major impact on the farm labour process, as we will see in the next section of this Chapter.

4. In the 1920s and 1930s the mechanisation of the labour process was the major means used to increase labour productivity within agriculture. However, the application of chemical fertilisers was expanding. Methods of delivery of fertiliser were limited at this time, but expanded after 1945 with the development of aerial topdressing.

5. The institutional forms which regulate the agro-commodity chains are part of the institutions involved in matching production and social demand, and include such issues as price formation, product standards and marketing, including wholesaling and retailing. The other major set of institutions concerns the intervention of the state, which has been an important aspect of the monopolist mode of regulation.

6. According to Philpott and Hussey (1969) the Index of farm outputs increased from 39.5 in the year ending June 1936 to 100 in the year ending June 1950.

7. The 1986 New Zealand Year Book records that for the year ending 31 March 1984 twelve public companies were located in the forestry and wood production sectors with a combined capital of $257.9 million. This was the single largest sector in terms of capital and individual company sizes.

8. Inhabited dwellings according to the New Zealand Census are shown in Table 4.12 for the following years.

Table 4.12 Number of Inhabited Dwellings in New Zealand, 1951 to 1986.

Year	Inhabited Dwellings
1951	504,987
1961	643,410
1971	809,837
1981	1,001,882
1986	1,095,747

Source: New Zealand Census 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1986

9. In 1924 coal accounted for 87.20% of the total energy consumed, but by 1980 this had fallen to 14.83% (New Zealand Year Book, 1986:550).

10. The following table is an index of the fixed capital in different sectors of manufacturing in 1972 and 1984. The table demonstrates that the accumulation of capital in fixed assets was insufficient to offset the inflation rate, and there was effectively deindustrialisation in all sectors except the Chemicals sector, the oil refinery at Whangarei being the major influence here.

Table 4.13 Index of Fixed Capital in Different Sectors of Manufacturing in 1972 and 1984

	1972	1984
FOOD, BEVERAGES ETC	27	15
TEXTILES, APPAREL	7	2
MANUFACTURED WOOD PRODUCTS	6	2
PAPER PRODUCTS	22	8
CHEMICALS, PETROL	7	18
NON-METALLIC MINERALS	5	2
BASIC METAL INDUSTRIES	7	7
FABRICATED METAL	18	7
OTHER MANUFACTURING	1	0
TOTAL	100	61

Source: Census of Manufacturing, 1984; System of National Accounts, 1972 to 1984

11. The sheltered industries were all of those which traded within New Zealand. At this time this meant all industries apart from agricultural land-based food and fibre production.

12. The chain system in meat freezing was introduced in 1933 (McNulty, 1958; Curtis, 1986). For a time at least, productivity rates were lower in the chain system than in the system preceding it. McNulty argues that the chain system was introduced to break the power of the butchers. The chain system altered the basis of participation in the meat freezing industry and enlarged the potential pool of workers.

13. Farm labourers as a percentage of the total labour force ranged between 9.95% to 11.0% of the labour force during the 1920s and 1930s. The labour force in this period expanded from 504,575 to 650,584. Much of the expansion occurred during the depression when farmers were able to employ subsidised labour. During the 1920s, however, the trend was for employment to fall in farm labouring.

14. The output norms per person engaged in Factory Production in the 1920s can be divided into two categories. Factory Production in the 1920s was dominated by the production of food, textiles and clothing and to a lesser extent metals and machinery production. The sales ratio to persons engaged in 1924 in different sectors is shown in the following table. The sales output to persons engaged for food production was roughly four times greater, providing some basis for the concerns of the farmers about low productivity.

Table 4.14 Sales Output to Persons Engaged in Different Sectors, 1924

	$
Metals	562
Machinery	532
Transport goods	470
Food Production	2,413
Textiles	586
Household durables	590

Source: Factory Production Data, 1924

15. In December 1975 there were 5,668 registered unemployed, which had grown to 171,891 by December 1989 (See Figure 4.9).

16. The term 'Think Big' is associated with a number of large energy products which were undertaken during the 1980s on the initiative of the National Government in an attempt to stimulate investment in productive assets which, as we have noted above, had all but ceased. The National Government also initiated a number of schemes to encourage investment in agricultural production, and these schemes stimulated the accumulation of capital in farm production. These accumulation patterns are

revealed in the Gross Capital Formation data in the system of National Accounts (Department of Statistics).

17. There is evidence that the growth in the banking sector has levelled out as at the beginning of 1990, and that there will be a contraction of employment. The Bank of New Zealand has announced impending redundancies, and the Chairman of that Bank has predicted a loss of 5,000 jobs in banking over the next few years (Christchurch Press, Monday 12 March 1990.)

18. This form of retailing shifts much of the labour of distribution from the retail sector onto the consumer. For an interesting discussion of these changes see Preteceille and Terrail (1985, Chapter Five).

19. In the builders' carpentry, joinery and pre-cut building branches of manufacturing the number of establishments increased from 382 in the March year 1975 to 514 in March 1984. The numbers engaged dropped from 5,021 in 1974 to 4,682 in 1984. Capital investment in fixed assets was $3,527,000 in the March year 1975, $3,284,000 in 1976, $3,731,000 in 1977, and $9,977,000 in 1984. These figures tend to suggest and support our argument that the construction sector has undergone, and is still undergoing a change with more off-site construction occurring. The increase in the number of establishments with a reduction in persons engaged has important implications for our claims that construction labouring work is not as freely available as it once was.

20. See National Accounts data on Gross Fixed Capital Formation in New Zealand System of National Accounts, 1977-78 to 1985-86 (Department of Statistics).

21. These traditional sectors have been based in the appropriation strategies of land-based food and fibre production. The machinery sector, especially the heavy

industry branch has insufficient work available and is now looking off-shore, but faces significant competition from foreign contractors. This information was conveyed verbally to the author by an official of the Engineers Union. It seems unlikely that there will be a new wave of investment in the appropriation or substitution industries associated with land-based food and fibre production, with the possible exception of forestry production. These developments are in specific locations, and a nationwide revival of activity within the machinery sector seems unlikely based upon expansion of land-based food and fibre production.

22. These details are drawn from the Enterprise Surveys and Business Patterns Tables prepared by the Department of Statistics for the years concerned.

23. The introduction of automatic toll dialing facilities within New Zealand and linked to international exchanges has reduced the need for telephone operators, stemming the employment growth in this sector. This is also partly reflected in the falling trend of employment in transport and communications sectors of the regime of accumulation (See Table 4.36) (New Zealand Year Book, 1988).

24. The publication of the Gibbs report on health services in 1987 sparked off a debate on the costs of delivery of health services. The recent restructuring of the administration of Area Health Boards is a measure aimed at the rationalisation of health care.

25. This growth in labour productivity can also be achieved by introducing new technologies and reorganising the labour process. For this to happen it will be necessary for capital to invest in this new technology. At this time there is no sign of any sustained programme of investment in new plant and technology.

26. According to the Enterprise Surveys for 1987, 1988 and 1989 persons engaged in the construction sector in February of each of those years was as follows: 1987 78,638; 1988 97,537; 1989 91,999.

27. The choice of the 1981-82 year was quite arbitrary and any other year could have been chosen.

28. We deal more fully with these issues in Chapter Five.

29. There is inadequate data on income distribution beyond 1986.

APPENDIX

Table 4.15 Surplus Value in $000's of Revised Factory Production According to Pearce, the Average Unit Wage (AUW), and Surplus Value in Units of AUW.

YEAR	SURPLUS VALUE	AUW	SURPLUS VALUE IN AUW
1923	11,213	.14	82,486,840
1924	11,449	.14	83,128,806
1925	8,180	.15	54,249,098
1926	9,992	.14	73,971,139
1927	9,281	.13	70,672,113
1928	10,850	.13	85,100,122
1929	10,796	.15	73,398,540
1930	10,348	.15	69,459,790
1931	7,293	.14	52,332,436
1932	7,323	.13	57,834,995
1933	10,163	.12	83,480,971
1934	11,418	.12	94,411,019
1935	12,809	.12	104,536,780
1936	14,241	.15	95,378,774
1937	15,667	.18	88,274,015
1938	15,480	.19	81,886,981
1939	18,127	.19	93,184,696
1940	21,517	.20	106,122,523
1941	24,557	.21	115,598,591
1942	28,455	.23	122,661,810
1943	31,043	.24	130,949,323
1944	31,994	.25	128,670,353
1945	31,965	.27	117,886,018
1946	38,675	.28	140,340,768
1947	42,697	.30	141,310,225
1949	58,293	.35	166,430,336
1950	50,868	.38	132,391,036
1951	79,044	.42	186,290,344
1952	75,325	.45	168,797,124
1953	83,931	.48	175,281,871
1954	93,240	.52	180,416,889
1955	93,428	.54	172,806,466
1956	90,447	.59	154,377,623
1957	97,857	.61	160,875,160
1958	106,080	.61	173,487,736
1959	142,922	.62	231,586,936
1960	144,541	.65	223,819,622
1961	172,482	.67	257,993,755
1962	185,520	.68	270,950,234
1963	225,290	.72	313,479,977
1964	240,014	.75	321,181,944
1965	286,541	.78	367,387,568
1966	288,333	.82	351,564,796
1967	304,655	.85	356,611,418
1968	334,669	.89	375,411,954
1969	384,418	.95	405,054,794
1970	426,253	1.09	392,266,090

Source: Pearce (1986)

Table 4.16 Absolute and Percentage Increase/Decrease in Surplus Value of Revised Factory Production Expressed In AUWs.

YEAR	INCREASE/ DECREASE	% INC/DEC
1923	-	-
1924	641,967	0.78
1925	(28,879,709)	-34.74
1926	19,722,041	36.35
1927	(3,299,026)	-4.46
1928	14,428,010	20.42
1929	(11,701,582)	-13.75
1930	(3,938,750)	-5.37
1931	(17,127,354)	-24.66
1932	5,502,558	10.51
1933	25,645,976	44.34
1934	10,930,049	13.09
1935	10,125,761	10.73
1936	(9,158,007)	-8.76
1937	(7,104,759)	-7.45
1938	(6,387,034)	-7.24
1939	11,297,715	13.80
1940	12,937,828	13.88
1941	9,476,067	8.93
1942	7,063,219	6.11
1943	8,287,513	6.76
1944	(2,278,970)	-1.74
1945	(10,784,335)	-8.38
1946	22,454,750	19.05
1947	969,456	0.69
1949	25,120,111	17.78
1950	(34,039,300)	-20.45
1951	53,899,308	40.71
1952	(17,493,220)	-9.39
1953	6,484,747	3.84
1954	5,135,017	2.93
1955	(7,610,423)	-4.22
1956	(18,428,843)	-10.66
1957	6,497,537	4.21
1958	12,612,576	7.84
1959	58,099,201	33.49
1960	(7,767,314)	-3.35
1961	34,174,133	15.27
1962	12,956,479	5.02
1963	42,529,743	15.70
1964	7,701,967	2.46
1965	46,205,624	14.39
1966	(15,822,772)	-4.31
1967	5,046,622	1.44
1968	18,800,536	5.27
1969	29,642,840	7.90
1970	(12,788,705)	-3.16

Source: Pearce (1986)

Table 4.17 Variable Capital in $000s According to Pearce, in Revised Factory Production, Average Unit Wage, and Variable Capital Expressed In AUWs.

YEAR	VARIABLE CAPITAL	AUW	VARIABLE CAPITAL IN AUW
1923	18,814	.14	138,402,515
1924	19,729	.14	143,248,163
1925	21,994	.15	145,862,427
1926	19,544	.14	144,684,942
1927	18,958	.13	144,359,650
1928	19,152	.13	150,215,442
1929	22,509	.15	153,031,469
1930	20,785	.15	139,516,983
1931	16,283	.14	116,842,049
1932	14,931	.13	117,920,839
1933	15,411	.12	126,589,121
1934	17,503	.12	144,725,527
1935	19,577	.12	159,771,766
1936	25,147	.15	168,421,461
1937	29,786	.18	167,825,991
1938	31,671	.19	167,535,050
1939	35,147	.19	180,678,684
1940	39,018	.20	192,438,008
1941	43,105	.21	202,910,667
1942	47,839	.23	206,220,992
1943	51,302	.24	216,408,278
1944	55,687	.25	223,956,553
1945	61,465	.27	226,681,185
1946	64,940	.28	235,649,114
1947	74,630	.30	246,995,856
1949	90,159	.35	257,409,854
1950	103,162	.38	268,493,435
1951	115,330	.42	271,808,934
1952	119,268	.45	267,269,770
1953	132,271	.48	276,235,341
1954	151,931	.52	293,982,393
1955	163,577	.54	302,555,586
1956	173,149	.59	295,535,850
1957	187,289	.61	307,899,770
1958	195,949	.61	320,463,314
1959	201,791	.62	326,976,669
1960	225,059	.65	348,500,566
1961	241,403	.67	361,083,861
1962	250,110	.68	365,283,328
1963	274,845	.72	382,433,327
1964	305,192	.75	408,401,843
1965	337,014	.78	432,101,353
1966	362,794	.82	442,355,188
1967	362,667	.85	424,516,890
1968	384,593	.89	431,413,754
1969	438,999	.95	462,565,878
1970	522,713	1.09	481,034,936

Source: Pearce (1986)

Table 4.18 Absolute and Percentage Increase/Decrease in Variable Capital Expressed in AUWs.

YEAR	INCREASE/ DECREASE	% INCREASE/ DECREASE
1923	-	-
1924	4,845,648	3.50
1925	2,614,264	1.82
1926	(1,177,485)	-0.81
1927	(325,292)	-0.22
1928	5,855,792	4.06
1929	2,816,027	1.87
1930	(13,514,486)	-8.83
1931	(22,674,934)	-16.25
1932	1,078,790	0.92
1933	8,668,282	7.35
1934	18,136,406	14.33
1935	15,046,239	10.40
1936	8,649,695	5.41
1937	(595,470)	-0.35
1938	(290,941)	-0.17
1939	13,143,634	7.85
1940	11,759,324	6.51
1941	10,472,659	5.44
1942	3,310,325	1.63
1943	10,187,286	4.94
1944	7,548,275	3.49
1945	2,724,632	1.22
1946	8,967,929	3.96
1947	11,346,742	4.82
1949	10,413,998	4.22
1950	11,083,581	4.31
1951	3,315,499	1.23
1952	(4,539,164)	-1.67
1953	8,965,571	3.35
1954	17,747,052	6.42
1955	8,573,193	2.92
1956	(7,019,736)	-2.32
1957	12,363,920	4.18
1958	12,563,544	4.08
1959	6,513,355	2.03
1960	21,523,897	6.58
1961	12,583,295	3.61
1962	4,199,467	1.16
1963	17,149,999	4.69
1964	25,968,516	6.79
1965	23,699,510	5.80
1966	10,253,835	2.37
1967	(17,838,298)	-4.03
1968	6,896,864	1.62
1969	31,152,124	7.22
1970	18,469,058	3.99

Source: Pearce (1986)

Table 4.19 The Rate of Surplus Value According to Pearce, and According to Surplus Value and Variable Capital Expressed in AUWs.

YEAR	RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE AS PER PEARCE	RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE IN AUW
1923	.57	.60
1924	.56	.58
1925	.35	.37
1926	.49	.51
1927	.46	.49
1928	.54	.57
1929	.46	.48
1930	.48	.50
1931	.42	.45
1932	.46	.49
1933	.64	.66
1934	.63	.65
1935	.63	.65
1936	.55	.57
1937	.50	.53
1938	.46	.49
1939	.49	.52
1940	.52	.55
1941	.54	.57
1942	.56	.59
1943	.57	.61
1944	.54	.57
1945	.49	.52
1946	.56	.60
1947	.54	.57
1949	.61	.65
1950	.46	.49
1951	.65	.69
1952	.60	.63
1953	.60	.63
1954	.58	.61
1955	.54	.57
1956	.49	.52
1957	.49	.52
1958	.51	.54
1959	.68	.71
1960	.61	.64
1961	.68	.71
1962	.71	.74
1963	.79	.82
1964	.75	.79
1965	.82	.85
1966	.76	.79
1967	.80	.84
1968	.83	.87
1969	.84	.88
1970	.78	.82

Source: Pearce (1986)

Table 4.20 Productive Hours Worked in Revised Factory Production According to Pearce, the Value Added Per Hour of Productive Work, and Value Added Per Productive Hour Expressed in AUWs.

YEAR	PRODUCTIVE HOURS	VALUE ADDED PER HOUR	VALUE ADDED PER HOUR IN AUWs
1923	138,402,515	.22	1.60
1924	143,248,163	.22	1.58
1925	145,862,427	.21	1.37
1926	144,684,942	.20	1.51
1927	144,359,650	.20	1.49
1928	150,215,442	.20	1.57
1929	153,031,469	.22	1.48
1930	139,516,983	.22	1.50
1931	116,842,049	.20	1.45
1932	117,920,839	.19	1.49
1933	126,589,121	.20	1.66
1934	144,725,527	.20	1.65
1935	159,771,766	.20	1.65
1936	168,421,461	.23	1.57
1937	167,825,991	.27	1.53
1938	167,535,050	.28	1.49
1939	180,678,684	.29	1.52
1940	192,438,008	.31	1.55
1941	202,910,667	.33	1.57
1942	206,220,992	.37	1.59
1943	216,408,278	.38	1.61
1944	223,956,553	.39	1.57
1945	226,681,185	.41	1.52
1946	235,649,114	.44	1.60
1947	246,995,856	.48	1.57
1949	257,409,854	.58	1.65
1950	268,493,435	.57	1.49
1951	271,808,934	.72	1.69
1952	267,269,770	.73	1.63
1953	276,235,341	.78	1.63
1954	293,982,393	.83	1.61
1955	302,555,586	.85	1.57
1956	295,535,850	.89	1.52
1957	307,899,770	.93	1.52
1958	320,463,314	.94	1.54
1959	326,976,669	1.05	1.71
1960	348,500,566	1.06	1.64
1961	361,083,861	1.15	1.71
1962	365,283,328	1.19	1.74
1963	382,433,327	1.31	1.82
1964	408,401,843	1.33	1.79
1965	432,101,353	1.44	1.85
1966	442,355,188	1.47	1.79
1967	424,516,890	1.57	1.84
1968	431,413,754	1.67	1.87
1969	462,565,878	1.78	1.88
1970	481,034,936	1.97	1.82

Source: Pearce (1986)

Table 4.21 The Specific Price of Limited and 'Fordist' Consumption Baskets, and the Units of AUW Required to Purchase Limited and 'Fordist' Consumption Baskets.

YEAR	SPECIFIC PRICE OF LIMITED CONSUMPTION BASKETS	AUW REQUIRED	SPECIFIC PRICE OF 'FORDIST' CONSUMPTION BASKETS	AUW REQUIRED
1923	85.00	1.78	170.92	3.58
1924	86.26	1.81	173.45	3.63
1925	81.10	1.70	163.07	3.41
1926	87.52	1.83	175.98	3.69
1927	93.57	1.97	188.16	3.95
1928	93.57	1.95	188.16	3.92
1929	81.10	1.69	163.07	3.40
1930	79.33	1.69	159.52	3.41
1931	78.70	1.71	158.26	3.44
1932	77.98	1.68	156.80	3.38
1933	80.07	1.71	161.00	3.45
1934	81.54	1.72	163.96	3.47
1935	84.48	1.78	169.86	3.57
1936	69.93	1.59	140.62	3.19
1937	62.19	1.52	125.06	3.06
1938	60.78	1.48	122.21	2.99
1939	63.10	1.53	126.87	3.07
1940	62.59	1.48	125.85	2.97
1941	-	-	124.92	3.12
1942	-	-	117.14	2.93
1943	-	-	115.21	2.88
1944	-	-	112.73	2.82
1945	52.56	1.21	105.69	2.43
1946	51.00	1.18	102.55	2.37
1947	49.07	1.13	98.67	2.28
1949	46.34	1.07	93.18	2.15
1950	45.00	1.02	90.49	2.06
1951	45.33	1.04	91.16	2.09
1952	45.45	1.04	91.38	2.09
1953	44.62	1.02	89.73	2.05
1954	43.06	.97	86.58	1.96
1955	42.44	.95	85.34	1.92
1956	40.19	.91	80.81	1.83
1957	39.74	.90	79.91	1.80
1958	41.47	.93	83.39	1.87
1959	42.37	.94	85.19	1.90
1960	40.68	.91	81.81	1.82
1961	40.26	.89	80.95	1.80
1962	40.70	.91	81.85	1.82
1963	39.18	.87	78.78	1.74
1964	38.90	.85	78.23	1.71
1965	38.76	.85	77.94	1.70
1966	37.84	.83	76.09	1.66
1967	38.68	.86	77.78	1.73
1968	38.53	.86	77.47	1.72

YEAR	SPECIFIC PRICE OF LIMITED CONSUMPTION BASKETS	AUW REQUIRED	SPECIFIC PRICE OF 'FORDIST' CONSUMPTION BASKETS	AUW REQUIRED
1969	37.95	.83	76.31	1.67
1970	35.18	.77	70.74	1.55

Source: Pearce (1986); Household Budget Survey, 1930, 1981-82, Department of Statistics.

Table 4.22 Number of Limited Consumption Baskets (LCBs) Variable Capital Would Purchase in a Year, the Number of Workers this Would Support, and the Number of Persons Engaged in Revised Factory Production (RFP).

YEAR	LCBs PURCHASED BY VARIABLE CAPITAL (Number)	NUMBER OF WORKERS SUPPORTED BY LCBs	NUMBER OF WORKERS ENGAGED IN RFP
1923	1,628,265	31,313	55,710
1924	1,660,656	31,936	57,709
1925	1,798,550	34,588	58,626
1926	1,653,164	31,792	58,203
1927	1,542,798	29,669	58,324
1928	1,605,380	30,873	60,136
1929	1,886,948	36,287	61,677
1930	1,758,691	33,821	57,294
1931	1,484,651	28,551	48,902
1932	1,512,193	29,081	48,852
1933	1,580,981	30,403	52,113
1934	1,774,902	34,133	58,828
1935	1,891,238	36,370	64,654
1936	2,408,429	46,316	73,420
1937	2,698,601	51,896	78,947
1938	2,756,417	53,008	78,697
1939	2,863,371	55,065	84,160
1940	3,074,581	59,127	88,915
1941	-	-	91,921
1942	-	-	90,334
1943	-	-	93,246
1944	-	-	96,779
1945	4,312,808	82,939	100,332
1946	4,620,571	88,857	104,655
1947	5,033,541	96,799	109,837
1949	5,554,809	106,823	114,063
1950	5,966,521	114,741	117,536
1951	5,996,226	115,312	119,161
1952	5,880,523	113,087	117,733
1953	6,190,841	119,055	121,431
1954	6,827,273	131,294	127,664
1955	7,129,019	137,097	130,801
1956	7,353,467	141,413	128,698
1957	7,747,855	148,997	133,807
1958	7,727,594	148,608	138,906
1959	7,717,174	148,407	141,345
1960	8,566,877	164,748	149,171
1961	8,968,799	172,477	154,137
1962	8,975,020	172,597	156,256
1963	9,760,932	187,710	162,614
1964	10,498,762	201,899	171,830
1965	11,148,126	214,387	181,524
1966	11,690,148	224,811	186,077
1967	10,975,101	211,060	181,819

YEAR	LCBs PURCHASED BY VARIABLE CAPITAL (Number)	NUMBER OF WORKERS SUPPORTED BY LCBs	NUMBER OF WORKERS ENGAGED IN RFP
1968	11,196,827	215,324	184,160
1969	12,188,824	234,400	195,108
1970	13,673,534	262,953	203,469

Source: Pearce (1986); Household Budget Survey, 1930, Department of Statistics.

Table 4.23 Number of Limited Consumption Baskets (LCBs), and the Absolute and Percentage Increase/ Decrease in the Number of Consumption Baskets Which Variable Capital Would Purchase.

YEAR	LCBs PURCHASED BY VARIABLE CAPITAL (Number)	INCREASE/ DECREASE	% INCREASE/ DECREASE
1923	1,628,265	-	-
1924	1,660,656	32,391	1.99
1925	1,798,550	137,895	8.30
1926	1,653,164	(145,386)	-8.08
1927	1,542,798	(110,366)	-6.68
1928	1,605,380	62,582	4.06
1929	1,886,948	281,567	17.54
1930	1,758,691	(128,257)	-6.80
1931	1,484,651	(274,040)	-15.58
1932	1,512,193	27,542	1.86
1933	1,580,981	68,787	4.55
1934	1,774,902	193,922	12.27
1935	1,891,238	116,336	6.55
1936	2,408,429	517,192	27.35
1937	2,698,601	290,172	12.05
1938	2,756,417	57,816	2.14
1939	2,863,371	106,953	3.88
1940	3,074,581	211,210	7.38
1941	-	-	-
1942	-	-	-
1943	-	-	-
1944	-	-	-
1945	4,312,808	-	-
1946	4,620,571	307,763	7.14
1947	5,033,541	412,970	8.94
1949	5,554,809	521,268	10.36
1950	5,966,521	411,712	7.41
1951	5,996,226	29,705	0.50
1952	5,880,523	(115,703)	-1.93
1953	6,190,841	310,318	5.28
1954	6,827,273	636,432	10.28
1955	7,129,019	301,746	4.42
1956	7,353,467	224,448	3.15
1957	7,747,855	394,388	5.36
1958	7,727,594	(20,262)	-0.26
1959	7,717,174	(10,420)	-0.13
1960	8,566,877	849,703	11.01
1961	8,968,799	401,922	4.69
1962	8,975,020	6,221	0.07
1963	9,760,932	785,912	8.76
1964	10,498,762	737,830	7.56
1965	11,148,126	649,364	6.19
1966	11,690,148	542,022	4.86
1967	10,975,101	(715,047)	-6.12
1968	11,196,827	221,727	2.02
1969	12,188,824	991,997	8.86
1970	13,673,534	1,484,710	12.18

Source: Pearce (1986); Household Budget Survey, 1930.

Table 4.24 Number of Limited Consumption Baskets (LCBs) Variable Capital Would Purchase, and the Hours of Work Required Per Limited Consumption Basket.

YEAR	LCBs PURCHASED BY VARIABLE CAPITAL (Number)	HOURS REQUIRED PER LCB
1923	1,628,265	53.26
1924	1,660,656	54.05
1925	1,798,550	50.82
1926	1,653,164	54.84
1927	1,542,798	58.63
1928	1,605,380	58.63
1929	1,886,948	50.82
1930	1,758,691	49.71
1931	1,484,651	49.31
1932	1,512,193	48.86
1933	1,580,981	50.17
1934	1,774,902	51.09
1935	1,891,238	52.94
1936	2,408,429	43.82
1937	2,698,601	38.97
1938	2,756,417	38.08
1939	2,863,371	39.54
1940	3,074,581	39.22
1941	-	-
1942	-	-
1943	-	-
1944	-	-
1945	4,312,808	32.93
1946	4,620,571	31.96
1947	5,033,541	30.75
1949	5,554,809	29.04
1950	5,966,521	28.20
1951	5,996,226	28.40
1952	5,880,523	28.48
1953	6,190,841	27.96
1954	6,827,273	26.98
1955	7,129,019	26.59
1956	7,353,467	25.18
1957	7,747,855	24.90
1958	7,727,594	25.99
1959	7,717,174	26.55
1960	8,566,877	25.49
1961	8,968,799	25.23
1962	8,975,020	25.50
1963	9,760,932	24.55
1964	10,498,762	24.37
1965	11,148,126	24.29
1966	11,690,148	23.71
1967	10,975,101	24.24
1968	11,196,827	24.14
1969	12,188,824	23.78
1970	13,673,534	22.04

Source: Pearce (1986); Household Budget Survey, 1930.

Table 4.25 Number of 'Fordist' Consumption Baskets (FCBs) Variable Capital Would Purchase, and the Hours Required to Produce a 'Fordist' Consumption Basket.

YEAR	FCBs PURCHASED BY VARIABLE CAPITAL (Number)	HOURS REQUIRED PER FCB
1923	809,750	107.10
1924	825,876	108.68
1925	894,477	102.18
1926	822,167	110.27
1927	767,218	117.90
1928	798,339	117.90
1929	938,440	102.18
1930	874,605	99.96
1931	738,292	99.17
1932	752,046	98.25
1933	786,268	100.88
1934	882,688	102.74
1935	940,609	106.43
1936	1,197,706	88.11
1937	1,341,964	78.36
1938	1,370,878	76.58
1939	1,424,125	79.50
1940	1,529,106	78.86
1941	1,624,325	78.27
1942	1,760,466	73.40
1943	1,878,381	72.19
1944	1,986,663	70.64
1945	2,144,774	66.23
1946	2,297,895	64.26
1947	2,503,252	61.83
1949	2,762,501	58.39
1950	2,967,106	56.70
1951	2,981,669	57.12
1952	2,924,817	57.26
1953	3,078,517	56.22
1954	3,395,500	54.25
1955	3,545,296	53.47
1956	3,657,169	50.64
1957	3,853,082	50.07
1958	3,842,947	52.25
1959	3,838,205	53.38
1960	4,259,877	51.26
1961	4,460,579	50.72
1962	4,462,838	51.29
1963	4,854,447	49.36
1964	5,220,527	49.02
1965	5,544,026	48.84
1966	5,813,578	47.68
1967	5,457,918	48.74
1968	5,568,785	48.54
1969	6,061,668	47.82
1970	6,800,042	44.33

Source: Pearce (1986); Household Budget Survey, 1981-82.

Table 4.26 Numbers Engaged In Intermediate Goods Production, Construction, Metals and Machinery and Agriculture Sectors of the Labour Force, 1921 to 1936.

	INTERMEDIATE GOODS PRODUCTION	CONSTRUCTION	METALS AND MACHINERY	AGRICULTURE
1921	15,122	48,669	5,222	133,787
1922	15,587	50,642	7,700	131,621
1923	16,053	52,616	10,178	129,454
1924	16,518	54,589	12,656	127,288
1925	16,984	56,563	15,134	125,121
1926	17,449	58,536	17,612	122,955
1927	17,620	58,399	19,166	126,180
1928	17,791	58,263	20,719	129,405
1929	17,962	58,126	22,273	132,630
1930	18,133	57,990	23,826	135,855
1931	18,304	57,853	25,380	139,080
1932	18,476	57,716	26,934	142,305
1933	18,647	57,580	28,487	145,530
1934	18,818	57,443	30,041	148,755
1935	18,989	57,307	31,594	151,980
1936	19,160	57,170	33,148	155,205

Source: New Zealand Census 1921, 1926 and 1936

Table 4.27 Numbers Engaged in Food Production, Textiles, Household Durables and Household Operations Sectors of the Labour Force, 1921 to 1936.

	FOOD	TEXTILES	HOUSEHOLD DURABLES	HOUSEHOLD OPERATIONS
1921	20,611	24,881	4,385	8,459
1922	20,321	25,004	4,186	8,681
1923	20,032	25,128	3,988	8,902
1924	19,742	25,251	3,789	9,124
1925	19,453	25,375	3,591	9,345
1926	19,163	25,498	3,392	9,567
1927	19,285	25,926	4,156	9,774
1928	19,407	26,354	4,920	9,981
1929	19,529	26,782	5,684	10,188
1930	19,651	27,210	6,448	10,395
1931	19,773	27,638	7,213	10,601
1932	19,895	28,065	7,977	10,808
1933	20,017	28,493	8,741	11,015
1934	20,139	28,921	9,505	11,222
1935	20,261	29,349	10,269	11,429
1936	20,383	29,777	11,033	11,636

Source: New Zealand Census 1921, 1926 and 1936.

Table 4.28 Numbers Engaged in Recreation and Leisure, Wholesale and Retail, Finance and Services Sectors of the Labour Force, 1921 to 1936.

	RECREATION	WHOLESALE/ RETAIL	FINANCE	SERVICES
1921	3,536	66,232	12,104	67,163
1922	3,682	67,629	11,797	64,608
1923	3,828	69,026	11,491	62,054
1924	3,973	70,423	11,184	59,499
1925	4,119	71,820	10,878	56,945
1926	4,265	73,217	10,571	54,390
1927	4,389	73,776	13,425	56,557
1928	4,513	74,334	16,280	58,723
1929	4,637	74,893	19,134	60,890
1930	4,761	75,451	21,988	63,057
1931	4,885	76,010	24,842	65,223
1932	5,009	76,569	27,697	67,390
1933	5,133	77,127	30,551	69,557
1934	5,257	77,686	33,405	71,724
1935	5,381	78,244	36,260	73,890
1936	5,505	78,803	39,114	76,057

Source: New Zealand Census 1921, 1926 and 1936

Table 4.29 Numbers Engaged in Transport and Communications, State Services, Sector Not Specified Sectors and the Total Labour Force, 1921 to 1936.

	TRANSPORT/ COMMUNICATIONS	STATE SERVICES	NOT SPECIFIED	TOTAL
1921	45,556	48,838	-	504,575
1922	48,190	48,085	14,183	521,925
1923	50,823	47,332	28,366	539,276
1924	53,457	46,580	42,548	556,626
1925	56,090	45,827	56,731	573,977
1926	58,724	45,074	70,914	591,327
1927	57,652	44,574	66,375	597,253
1928	56,579	44,073	61,836	603,178
1929	55,506	43,573	57,298	609,104
1930	54,434	43,073	52,759	615,030
1931	53,362	42,572	48,220	620,955
1932	52,289	42,072	43,681	626,881
1933	51,216	41,572	39,142	632,807
1934	50,144	41,072	34,604	638,733
1935	49,072	40,571	30,065	644,658
1936	47,999	40,071	25,526	650,584

Source: New Zealand Census 1921, 1926 and 1936

Table 4.30 Number of Persons in Intermediate Goods Production, Construction, and Metals and Machinery Sectors of the Labour Force, 1945 to 1986.

YEAR	INTERMEDIATE GOODS	CONSTRUCTION	METALS	MACHINERY	TOTAL
1945	26,907	54,570	15,156	7,375	104,008
1946	26,555	60,758	13,616	13,351	114,280
1947	26,203	66,946	12,077	19,327	124,552
1948	25,852	73,134	10,537	25,302	134,824
1949	25,500	79,322	8,997	31,278	145,097
1950	25,148	85,510	7,458	37,254	155,369
1951	24,796	91,698	5,918	43,230	165,641
1952	25,289	95,660	6,393	44,229	171,570
1953	25,782	99,622	6,867	45,228	177,500
1954	26,276	103,585	7,342	46,228	183,429
1955	26,769	107,547	7,816	47,227	189,359
1956	27,262	111,509	8,291	48,226	195,288
1957	27,536	113,244	8,863	49,601	199,245
1958	27,809	114,980	9,436	50,977	203,202
1959	28,083	116,715	10,008	52,352	207,159
1960	28,356	118,451	10,581	53,728	211,116
1961	28,630	120,186	11,153	55,103	215,073
1962	30,852	123,229	12,131	59,045	225,258
1963	33,073	126,272	13,110	62,988	235,443
1964	35,295	129,314	14,088	66,930	245,628
1965	37,516	132,357	15,067	70,873	255,813
1966	39,738	135,400	16,045	74,815	265,998
1967	38,150	134,178	17,355	70,917	260,603
1968	36,563	132,956	18,665	67,020	255,208
1969	34,975	131,735	19,976	63,122	249,812
1970	33,388	130,513	21,286	59,225	244,417
1971	31,800	129,291	22,596	55,327	239,022
1972	33,237	132,314	23,582	56,914	246,054
1973	34,674	135,338	24,568	58,501	253,086
1974	36,111	138,361	25,555	60,087	260,117
1975	37,548	141,385	26,541	61,674	267,149
1976	38,985	144,408	27,527	63,261	274,181
1977	39,382	138,994	28,172	62,242	268,789
1978	39,779	133,579	28,816	61,222	263,397
1979	40,177	128,165	29,461	60,203	258,005
1980	40,574	122,750	30,105	59,183	252,613
1981	40,971	117,336	30,750	58,164	247,221
1982	41,734	120,550	31,360	57,816	251,460
1983	42,497	123,763	31,970	57,468	255,698
1984	43,260	126,977	32,580	57,121	259,937
1985	44,023	130,190	33,190	56,773	264,175
1986	44,786	133,404	33,800	56,425	268,414

Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1986

Table 4.31 Probability Distribution of Intermediate Goods Production, Construction, Metals and Machinery Sectors of the Labour Force in Relation to the Total Labour Force, 1945 to 1986.

YEAR	INTERMEDIATE GOODS	CONSTRUCTION	METALS	MACHINERY	TOTAL
1945	.04235	.08589	.02385	.01161	.16369
1946	.04179	.09306	.02085	.02045	.17503
1947	.04124	.09985	.01801	.02883	.18577
1948	.04069	.10630	.01532	.03678	.19597
1949	.04013	.11243	.01275	.04433	.20565
1950	.03958	.11826	.01031	.05152	.21487
1951	.03903	.12381	.00799	.05837	.22365
1952	.03980	.12656	.00846	.05851	.22699
1953	.04058	.12919	.00891	.05865	.23019
1954	.04135	.13173	.00934	.05879	.23326
1955	.04213	.13416	.00975	.05892	.23622
1956	.04291	.13651	.01015	.05904	.23907
1957	.04334	.13602	.01065	.05958	.23932
1958	.04377	.13555	.01112	.06010	.23955
1959	.04420	.13509	.01158	.06060	.23978
1960	.04463	.13465	.01203	.06108	.24000
1961	.04506	.13423	.01246	.06154	.24021
1962	.04856	.13373	.01316	.06408	.24445
1963	.05205	.13325	.01383	.06647	.24845
1964	.05555	.13280	.01447	.06873	.25224
1965	.05905	.13237	.01507	.07088	.25584
1966	.06254	.13196	.01564	.07292	.25925
1967	.06004	.12835	.01660	.06784	.24928
1968	.05754	.12486	.01753	.06294	.23968
1969	.05505	.12151	.01842	.05822	.23041
1970	.05255	.11826	.01929	.05367	.22148
1971	.05005	.11513	.02012	.04927	.21285
1972	.05231	.11485	.02047	.04940	.21358
1973	.05457	.11459	.02080	.04953	.21428
1974	.05683	.11433	.02112	.04965	.21494
1975	.05910	.11409	.02142	.04977	.21558
1976	.06136	.11386	.02170	.04988	.21618
1977	.06198	.10855	.02200	.04861	.20991
1978	.06261	.10333	.02229	.04736	.20376
1979	.06323	.09822	.02258	.04614	.19772
1980	.06386	.09320	.02286	.04494	.19180
1981	.06448	.08827	.02313	.04376	.18598
1982	.06568	.08994	.02340	.04313	.18760
1983	.06688	.09157	.02366	.04252	.18920
1984	.06809	.09319	.02391	.04192	.19076
1985	.06929	.09477	.02416	.04133	.19230
1986	.07049	.09633	.02441	.04074	.19382

Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1986.

Table 4.32 Numbers in Agriculture, Food Production, Textiles and Household Durables Sectors of the Labour Force, 1945 to 1986.

YEAR	AGRICULTURE	FOOD	TEXTILES	HOUSEHOLD DURABLES
1945	121,218	30,853	35,220	7,445
1946	122,734	31,833	35,916	8,027
1947	124,250	32,813	36,613	8,610
1948	125,766	33,794	37,309	9,192
1949	127,282	34,774	38,005	9,774
1950	128,798	35,754	38,702	10,357
1951	130,314	36,734	39,398	10,939
1952	129,930	37,601	38,945	10,684
1953	129,546	38,467	38,491	10,430
1954	129,161	39,334	38,038	10,175
1955	128,777	40,200	37,584	9,921
1956	128,393	41,067	37,131	9,666
1957	127,828	42,195	38,087	10,143
1958	127,264	43,323	39,043	10,620
1959	126,699	44,451	39,998	11,096
1960	126,135	45,579	40,954	11,573
1961	125,570	46,707	41,910	12,050
1962	126,235	47,941	42,972	12,762
1963	126,900	49,176	44,035	13,473
1964	127,564	50,410	45,097	14,185
1965	128,229	51,645	46,160	14,896
1966	128,894	52,879	47,222	15,608
1967	127,643	55,345	47,957	15,634
1968	126,391	57,810	48,692	15,659
1969	125,140	60,276	49,428	15,685
1970	123,888	62,741	50,163	15,710
1971	122,637	65,207	50,898	15,736
1972	122,532	65,923	50,392	16,498
1973	122,427	66,639	49,886	17,259
1974	122,321	67,355	49,380	18,021
1975	122,216	68,071	48,874	18,782
1976	122,111	68,787	48,368	19,544
1977	124,454	70,384	47,804	19,338
1978	126,797	71,981	47,240	19,132
1979	129,141	73,579	46,677	18,925
1980	131,484	75,176	46,113	18,719
1981	133,827	76,773	45,549	18,513
1982	134,841	75,242	44,951	18,841
1983	135,855	73,712	44,353	19,169
1984	136,870	72,181	43,755	19,498
1985	137,884	70,651	43,157	19,826
1986	138,898	69,120	42,559	20,154

Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1986

Table 4.33 Numbers in Household Operations, Recreation, Wholesale/Retail and Services Sectors of the Labour Force, 1945 to 1986.

YEAR	H/HOLD OPs	RECREATION	WHOLESALE/ RETAIL	FINANCE	SERVICES	TOTAL[a]
1945	10,864	4,286	75,486	26,767	37,072	349,211
1946	11,032	4,737	80,336	26,983	38,462	360,060
1947	11,200	5,188	85,186	27,199	39,851	370,909
1948	11,368	5,638	90,035	27,415	41,240	381,759
1949	11,537	6,089	94,885	27,631	42,630	392,608
1950	11,705	6,540	99,735	27,847	44,020	403,457
1951	11,873	6,991	104,585	28,063	45,409	414,306
1952	12,618	7,015	108,592	29,113	44,944	419,441
1953	13,362	7,040	112,598	30,162	44,479	424,576
1954	14,107	7,064	116,605	31,212	44,015	429,710
1955	14,851	7,089	120,611	32,261	43,550	434,845
1956	15,596	7,113	124,618	33,311	43,085	439,980
1957	16,451	7,500	127,644	34,408	44,215	448,471
1958	17,307	7,887	130,670	35,504	45,344	456,961
1959	18,162	8,275	133,695	36,601	46,474	465,452
1960	19,018	8,662	136,721	37,697	47,603	473,942
1961	19,873	9,049	139,747	38,794	48,733	482,433
1962	19,366	9,589	141,950	40,723	50,213	491,749
1963	18,858	10,128	144,152	42,651	51,692	501,065
1964	18,351	10,668	146,355	44,580	53,172	510,382
1965	17,843	11,207	148,557	46,508	54,651	519,698
1966	17,336	11,747	150,760	48,437	56,131	529,014
1967	19,774	11,745	153,991	53,009	61,360	546,385
1968	22,212	11,743	157,221	57,581	66,590	563,755
1969	24,650	11,740	160,452	62,152	71,819	581,126
1970	27,088	11,738	163,682	66,724	77,049	598,496
1971	29,526	11,736	166,913	71,296	82,278	615,867
1972	29,854	12,078	170,026	73,370	83,473	623,858
1973	30,183	12,421	173,139	75,444	84,668	631,849
1974	30,511	12,763	176,251	77,519	85,863	639,841
1975	30,840	13,106	179,364	79,593	87,058	647,832
1976	31,168	13,448	182,477	81,667	88,253	655,823
1977	31,807	16,592	182,243	84,201	85,296	662,120
1978	32,447	19,736	182,008	86,735	82,340	668,417
1979	33,086	22,881	181,774	89,270	79,383	674,715
1980	33,726	26,025	181,539	91,804	76,427	681,012
1981	34,365	29,169	181,305	94,338	73,470	687,309
1982	33,186	28,018	187,445	99,130	76,260	697,915
1983	32,006	26,868	193,586	103,921	79,051	708,522
1984	30,827	25,717	199,726	108,713	81,841	719,128
1985	29,647	24,567	205,867	113,504	84,632	729,735
1986	28,468	23,416	212,007	118,296	87,422	740,341

a Totals of Tables 4.32 and 4.33

Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1986

Table 4.34 Probability Distribution of Agriculture, Food Production, Textiles and Household Durables Sectors of the Labour Force in Relation to the Total Labour Force, 1945 to 1986.

YEAR	AGRICULTURE	FOOD	TEXTILES	HOUSEHOLD DURABLES
1945	.19078	.04856	.05543	.01172
1946	.18798	.04876	.05501	.01229
1947	.18532	.04894	.05461	.01284
1948	.18280	.04912	.05423	.01336
1949	.18040	.04929	.05387	.01385
1950	.17813	.04945	.05352	.01432
1951	.17595	.04960	.05320	.01477
1952	.17190	.04975	.05152	.01414
1953	.16800	.04989	.04992	.01353
1954	.16425	.05002	.04837	.01294
1955	.16065	.05015	.04689	.01238
1956	.15718	.05027	.04546	.01183
1957	.15354	.05068	.04575	.01218
1958	.15003	.05107	.04603	.01252
1959	.14665	.05145	.04630	.01284
1960	.14339	.05181	.04656	.01316
1961	.14024	.05217	.04681	.01346
1962	.13699	.05203	.04663	.01385
1963	.13391	.05189	.04647	.01422
1964	.13100	.05177	.04631	.01457
1965	.12824	.05165	.04616	.01490
1966	.12562	.05154	.04602	.01521
1967	.12210	.05294	.04587	.01495
1968	.11870	.05429	.04573	.01471
1969	.11542	.05560	.04559	.01447
1970	.11226	.05685	.04545	.01424
1971	.10921	.05807	.04532	.01401
1972	.10636	.05722	.04374	.01432
1973	.10366	.05642	.04224	.01461
1974	.10108	.05566	.04080	.01489
1975	.09862	.05493	.03944	.01516
1976	.09628	.05424	.03814	.01541
1977	.09719	.05497	.03733	.01510
1978	.09809	.05568	.03654	.01480
1979	.09897	.05639	.03577	.01450
1980	.09983	.05708	.03501	.01421
1981	.10068	.05776	.03427	.01393
1982	.10060	.05613	.03354	.01406
1983	.10052	.05454	.03282	.01418
1984	.10045	.05297	.03211	.01431
1985	.10037	.05143	.03142	.01443
1986	.10030	.04991	.03073	.01455

Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1986

Table 4.35 Probability Distribution of Household Operations, Recreation, Wholesale/Retail and Services Sectors of the Labour Force in Relation to the Total Labour Force, 1945 to 1986.

YEAR	H/HOLD OPs	RECREATION	WHOLESALE/ RETAIL	FINANCE	SERVICES	TOTAL[a]
1945	.01710	.00675	.11880	.04213	.05835	.54961
1946	.01690	.00725	.12304	.04133	.05891	.55146
1947	.01671	.00774	.12706	.04057	.05944	.55322
1948	.01652	.00820	.13087	.03985	.05994	.55488
1949	.01635	.00863	.13449	.03916	.06042	.55647
1950	.01619	.00904	.13793	.03851	.06088	.55797
1951	.01603	.00944	.14121	.03789	.06131	.55941
1952	.01669	.00928	.14367	.03852	.05946	.55492
1953	.01733	.00913	.14602	.03912	.05768	.55060
1954	.01794	.00898	.14828	.03969	.05597	.54646
1955	.01853	.00884	.15046	.04025	.05433	.54247
1956	.01909	.00871	.15256	.04078	.05275	.53863
1957	.01976	.00901	.15332	.04133	.05311	.53867
1958	.02040	.00930	.15404	.04186	.05346	.53871
1959	.02102	.00958	.15475	.04236	.05379	.53874
1960	.02162	.00985	.15542	.04285	.05412	.53878
1961	.02220	.01011	.15608	.04333	.05443	.53881
1962	.02102	.01041	.15404	.04419	.05449	.53364
1963	.01990	.01069	.15212	.04501	.05455	.52875
1964	.01885	.01096	.15030	.04578	.05460	.52413
1965	.01785	.01121	.14857	.04651	.05466	.51975
1966	.01690	.01145	.14693	.04721	.05471	.51559
1967	.01891	.01123	.14730	.05071	.05869	.52264
1968	.02086	.01103	.14765	.05408	.06254	.52944
1969	.02274	.01083	.14799	.05733	.06624	.53600
1970	.02455	.01064	.14832	.06046	.06982	.54233
1971	.02591	.01048	.14759	.06369	.07246	.54153
1973	.02555	.01052	.14659	.06388	.07169	.53497
1974	.02521	.01055	.14564	.06406	.07095	.52872
1975	.02489	.01058	.14474	.06423	.07025	.52277
1976	.02457	.01060	.14388	.06439	.06958	.51709
1977	.02484	.01296	.14232	.06576	.06661	.51708
1978	.02510	.01527	.14080	.06710	.06370	.51708
1979	.02536	.01753	.13930	.06841	.06084	.51707
1980	.02561	.01976	.13784	.06970	.05803	.51706
1981	.02585	.02194	.13639	.07097	.05527	.51706
1982	.02476	.02090	.13984	.07396	.05689	.52068
1983	.02368	.01988	.14324	.07689	.05849	.52425
1984	.02262	.01887	.14658	.07978	.06006	.52775
1985	.02158	.01788	.14986	.08262	.06161	.53120
1986	.02056	.01691	.15309	.08542	.06313	.53460

a Totals of Tables 4.34 and 4.35

Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1986

Table 4.36 Numbers In Transport and Communications and State Services Sectors of the Labour Force, 1945 to 1986.

	TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS	STATE SERVICES
1945	69,261	106,986
1946	70,728	102,076
1947	72,196	97,166
1948	73,664	92,257
1949	75,131	87,347
1950	76,598	82,437
1951	78,066	77,527
1952	79,164	80,791
1953	80,262	84,056
1954	81,360	87,320
1955	82,458	90,585
1956	83,556	93,849
1957	84,700	96,079
1958	85,844	98,309
1959	86,988	100,540
1960	88,132	102,770
1961	89,276	105,000
1962	91,063	108,109
1963	92,850	111,218
1964	94,636	114,328
1965	96,423	117,437
1966	98,210	120,546
1967	99,204	126,653
1968	100,198	132,759
1969	101,193	138,866
1970	102,187	144,972
1971	103,181	151,079
1972	104,802	159,452
1973	106,423	167,825
1974	108,045	176,197
1975	109,666	184,570
1976	111,287	192,943
1977	110,595	202,545
1978	109,903	212,146
1979	109,210	221,748
1980	108,518	231,349
1981	107,826	240,951
1982	107,643	244,059
1983	107,460	247,167
1984	107,278	250,275
1985	107,095	253,383
1986	106,912	256,491

Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1986

Table 4.37 Probability Distribution of Transport and Communications and State Services of the Labour Force in Relation to the Total Labour Force, 1945 to 1986.

	TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS	STATE SERVICES
1945	.10901	.16838
1946	.10833	.15634
1947	.10768	.14492
1948	.10707	.13409
1949	.10649	.12380
1950	.10593	.11400
1951	.10541	.10467
1952	.10473	.10688
1953	.10409	.10900
1954	.10346	.11104
1955	.10287	.11300
1956	.10229	.11489
1957	.10174	.11540
1958	.10120	.11590
1959	.10069	.11637
1960	.10019	.11683
1961	.09971	.11727
1962	.09882	.11732
1963	.09798	.11736
1964	.09719	.11741
1965	.09643	.11745
1966	.09572	.11749
1967	.09489	.12115
1968	.09410	.12468
1969	.09333	.12808
1970	.09260	.13137
1971	.09188	.13454
1972	.09097	.13841
1973	.09011	.14209
1974	.08928	.14560
1975	.08850	.14894
1976	.08775	.15213
1977	.08637	.15818
1978	.08502	.16411
1979	.08369	.16994
1980	.08239	.17565
1981	.08112	.18127
1982	.08031	.18208
1983	.07951	.18288
1984	.07873	.18367
1985	.07796	.18445
1986	.07720	.18521

Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1986

Table 4.38 Total Population Between 15 and 74 Years of Age, Total in Labour Force Within These Same Ages, and Participation Rates, 1945 to 1986.

	POPULATION 15-74 YEARS	LABOUR FORCE	PARTICIPATION RATE
1945	1,149,504	583,061	50.72
1946	1,176,944	608,380	51.69
1947	1,204,385	633,698	52.62
1948	1,231,826	659,017	53.50
1949	1,259,266	684,336	54.34
1950	1,286,706	709,654	55.15
1951	1,314,147	734,973	55.93
1952	1,335,342	750,343	56.19
1953	1,356,537	765,713	56.45
1954	1,377,731	781,082	56.69
1955	1,398,926	796,452	56.93
1956	1,420,121	811,822	57.17
1957	1,443,163	827,814	57.36
1958	1,466,205	843,806	57.55
1959	1,489,248	859,797	57.73
1960	1,512,290	875,789	57.91
1961	1,535,332	891,781	58.08
1962	1,572,082	917,275	58.35
1963	1,608,832	942,770	58.60
1964	1,645,581	968,264	58.84
1965	1,682,331	993,759	59.07
1966	1,719,081	1,019,253	59.29
1967	1,747,848	1,037,232	59.34
1968	1,776,616	1,055,212	59.39
1969	1,805,383	1,073,191	59.44
1970	1,834,151	1,091,171	59.49
1971	1,862,918	1,109,150	59.54
1972	1,911,072	1,134,033	59.34
1973	1,959,226	1,158,916	59.15
1974	2,007,381	1,183,798	58.97
1975	2,055,535	1,208,681	58.80
1976	2,103,689	1,233,564	58.64
1977	2,120,232	1,243,511	58.65
1978	2,136,774	1,253,459	58.66
1979	2,153,317	1,263,406	58.67
1980	2,169,859	1,273,354	58.68
1981	2,186,402	1,283,301	58.69
1982	2,216,433	1,280,026	57.75
1983	2,246,464	1,276,751	56.83
1984	2,276,494	1,273,475	55.94
1985	2,306,525	1,270,200	55.07
1986	2,336,556	1,266,925	54.22

Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1986

Table 4.39 Total Population Between 15 and 19 Years of Age, Total In Labour Force Within These Same Ages, and Participation Rates, 1945 to 1986.

	POPULATION 15-19 YEARS	LABOUR FORCE	PARTICIPATION RATE
1945	127,998	98,597	77.03
1946	128,417	100,727	78.44
1947	128,837	102,857	79.84
1948	129,256	104,988	81.22
1949	129,675	107,118	82.60
1950	130,095	109,248	83.98
1951	130,514	111,378	85.34
1952	135,540	113,841	83.99
1953	140,566	116,304	82.74
1954	145,593	118,768	81.58
1955	150,619	121,231	80.49
1956	155,645	123,694	79.47
1957	161,688	122,943	76.04
1958	167,731	122,192	72.85
1959	173,773	121,441	69.88
1960	179,816	120,690	67.12
1961	185,859	119,939	64.53
1962	197,793	126,210	63.81
1963	209,727	132,481	63.17
1964	221,662	138,752	62.60
1965	233,596	145,023	62.08
1966	245,530	151,294	61.62
1967	248,582	149,896	60.30
1968	251,634	148,497	59.01
1969	254,685	147,099	57.76
1970	257,737	145,700	56.53
1971	260,789	144,302	55.33
1972	268,773	145,676	54.20
1973	276,756	147,049	53.13
1974	284,740	148,423	52.13
1975	292,723	149,796	51.17
1976	300,707	151,170	50.27
1977	302,013	150,201	49.73
1978	303,319	149,231	49.20
1979	304,624	148,262	48.67
1980	305,930	147,292	48.15
1981	307,236	146,323	47.63
1982	305,790	142,291	46.53
1983	304,344	138,259	45.43
1984	302,898	134,226	44.31
1985	301,452	130,194	43.19
1986	300,006	126,162	42.05

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

Table 4.40 Total Population Between 20 and 24 Years of Age, Total In Labour Force Within These Same Ages, and Participation Rates, 1945 to 1986.

	POPULATION 20-24 YEARS	LABOUR FORCE	PARTICIPATION RATE
1945	112,960	57,331	50.75
1946	117,579	61,352	52.18
1947	122,198	65,374	53.50
1948	126,816	69,395	54.72
1949	131,435	73,416	55.86
1950	136,054	77,438	56.92
1951	140,673	81,459	57.91
1952	139,673	80,721	57.79
1953	138,672	79,984	57.68
1954	137,672	79,246	57.56
1955	136,671	78,509	57.44
1956	135,671	77,771	57.32
1957	140,149	85,024	60.67
1958	144,628	92,277	63.80
1959	149,106	99,529	66.75
1960	153,585	106,782	69.53
1961	158,063	114,035	72.15
1962	164,581	119,096	72.36
1963	171,099	124,158	72.57
1964	177,616	129,219	72.75
1965	184,134	134,281	72.93
1966	190,652	139,342	73.09
1967	199,513	145,572	72.96
1968	208,375	151,802	72.85
1969	217,236	158,031	72.75
1970	226,098	164,261	72.65
1971	234,959	170,491	72.56
1972	239,882	174,115	72.58
1973	244,805	177,740	72.60
1974	249,729	181,364	72.62
1975	254,652	184,989	72.64
1976	259,575	188,613	72.66
1977	261,588	191,193	73.09
1978	263,601	193,773	73.51
1979	265,614	196,354	73.92
1980	267,627	198,934	74.33
1981	269,640	201,514	74.73
1982	272,291	200,569	73.66
1983	274,943	199,624	72.61
1984	277,594	198,678	71.57
1985	280,246	197,733	70.56
1986	282,897	196,788	69.56

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

Table 4.41 Total Population Between 25 and 34 Years of Age, Total In Labour Force Within These Same Ages, and Participation Rates, 1945 to 1986.

	POPULATION 25-34 YEARS	LABOUR FORCE	PARTICIPATION RATE
1945	238,742	129,035	54.05
1946	246,094	135,739	55.16
1947	253,445	142,443	56.20
1948	260,797	149,147	57.19
1949	268,149	155,850	58.12
1950	275,500	162,554	59.00
1951	282,852	169,258	59.84
1952	287,645	172,916	60.11
1953	292,437	176,573	60.38
1954	297,230	180,231	60.64
1955	302,022	183,888	60.89
1956	306,815	187,546	61.13
1957	305,786	186,657	61.04
1958	304,758	185,768	60.96
1959	303,729	184,880	60.87
1960	302,701	183,991	60.78
1961	301,672	183,102	60.70
1962	304,638	185,480	60.89
1963	307,603	187,857	61.07
1964	310,569	190,235	61.25
1965	313,534	192,612	61.43
1966	316,500	194,990	61.61
1967	323,956	201,234	62.12
1968	331,413	207,477	62.60
1969	338,869	213,721	63.07
1970	346,326	219,964	63.51
1971	353,782	226,208	63.94
1972	372,753	239,758	64.32
1973	391,724	253,308	64.66
1974	410,696	266,857	64.98
1975	429,667	280,407	65.26
1976	448,638	293,957	65.52
1977	454,114	299,000	65.84
1978	459,589	304,043	66.16
1979	465,065	309,086	66.46
1980	470,540	314,129	66.76
1981	476,016	319,172	67.05
1982	483,428	320,264	66.25
1983	490,841	321,355	65.47
1984	498,253	322,447	64.72
1985	505,666	323,538	63.98
1986	513,078	324,630	63.27

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

Table 4.42 Total Population Between 35 and 44 Years, Total In Labour Force Within These Same Ages, and Participation Rates, 1945 to 1986.

	POPULATION 35-44 YEARS	LABOUR FORCE	PARTICIPATION RATE
1945	223,823	119,785	53.52
1946	230,868	126,103	54.62
1947	237,912	132,421	55.66
1948	244,957	138,740	56.64
1949	252,002	145,058	57.56
1950	259,046	151,376	58.44
1951	266,091	157,694	59.26
1952	269,672	160,273	59.43
1953	273,253	162,852	59.60
1954	276,834	165,432	59.76
1955	280,415	168,011	59.92
1956	283,996	170,590	60.07
1957	287,770	173,949	60.45
1958	291,544	177,308	60.82
1959	295,318	180,668	61.18
1960	299,092	184,027	61.53
1961	302,866	187,386	61.87
1962	307,107	191,914	62.49
1963	311,347	196,443	63.09
1964	315,588	200,971	63.68
1965	319,828	205,500	64.25
1966	324,069	210,028	64.81
1967	321,432	210,926	65.62
1968	318,795	211,824	66.45
1969	316,159	212,722	67.28
1970	313,522	213,620	68.14
1971	310,885	214,518	69.00
1972	314,654	218,523	69.45
1973	318,422	222,528	69.88
1974	322,191	226,532	70.31
1975	325,959	230,537	70.73
1976	329,728	234,542	71.13
1977	335,862	240,244	71.53
1978	341,996	245,947	71.92
1979	348,131	251,649	72.29
1980	354,265	257,352	72.64
1981	360,399	263,054	72.99
1982	374,701	268,733	71.72
1983	389,003	274,412	70.54
1984	403,306	280,092	69.45
1985	417,608	285,771	68.43
1986	431,910	291,450	67.48

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

Table 4.43 Total Population Between 45 and 54 Years of Age, Total In Labour Force Within These Same Ages, and Participation Rates, 1945 to 1986.

	POPULATION 45-54 YEARS	LABOUR FORCE	PARTICIPATION RATE
1945	180,587	90,035	49.86
1946	185,280	95,354	51.47
1947	189,972	100,674	52.99
1948	194,664	105,993	54.45
1949	199,357	111,312	55.84
1950	204,050	116,632	57.16
1951	208,742	121,951	58.42
1952	214,588	126,833	59.11
1953	220,434	131,714	59.75
1954	226,281	136,596	60.37
1955	232,127	141,477	60.95
1956	237,973	146,359	61.50
1957	243,906	150,902	61.87
1958	249,838	155,445	62.22
1959	255,771	159,988	62.55
1960	261,703	164,531	62.87
1961	267,636	169,074	63.17
1962	270,867	171,751	63.41
1963	274,098	174,427	63.64
1964	277,330	177,104	63.86
1965	280,561	179,780	64.08
1966	283,792	182,457	64.29
1967	287,067	186,262	64.88
1968	290,342	190,068	65.46
1969	293,616	193,873	66.03
1970	296,891	197,679	66.58
1971	300,166	201,484	67.12
1972	303,798	205,185	67.54
1973	307,429	208,887	67.95
1974	311,061	212,588	68.34
1975	314,692	216,290	68.73
1976	318,324	219,991	69.11
1977	314,947	218,907	69.51
1978	311,570	217,823	69.91
1979	308,194	216,740	70.33
1980	304,817	215,656	70.75
1981	301,440	214,572	71.18
1982	303,290	212,970	70.22
1983	305,140	211,367	69.27
1984	306,989	209,765	68.33
1985	308,839	208,162	67.40
1986	310,689	206,560	66.48

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

Table 4.44 Total Population Between 55 and 64 Years of Age, Total In Labour Force Within These Same Ages, and Participation Rates, 1945 to 1986.

	POPULATION 55-64 YEARS	LABOUR FORCE	PARTICIPATION RATE
1945	161,046	66,736	41.44
1946	161,022	66,942	41.57
1947	160,997	67,148	41.71
1948	160,973	67,354	41.84
1949	160,949	67,560	41.98
1950	160,924	67,766	42.11
1951	160,900	67,972	42.24
1952	162,949	70,228	43.10
1953	164,997	72,484	43.93
1954	167,046	74,739	44.74
1955	169,094	76,995	45.53
1956	171,143	79,251	46.31
1957	175,102	82,254	46.97
1958	179,061	85,256	47.61
1959	183,019	88,259	48.22
1960	186,978	91,261	48.81
1961	190,937	94,264	49.37
1962	196,931	98,226	49.88
1963	202,924	102,189	50.36
1964	208,918	106,151	50.81
1965	214,911	110,114	51.24
1966	220,905	114,076	51.64
1967	225,932	116,309	51.48
1968	230,959	118,543	51.33
1969	235,986	120,776	51.18
1970	241,013	123,010	51.04
1971	246,040	125,243	50.90
1972	249,715	124,625	49.91
1973	253,390	124,007	48.94
1974	257,064	123,388	48.00
1975	260,739	122,770	47.09
1976	264,414	122,152	46.20
1977	266,088	121,954	45.83
1978	267,763	121,756	45.47
1979	269,437	121,558	45.12
1980	271,112	121,360	44.76
1981	272,786	121,162	44.42
1982	275,825	118,761	43.06
1983	278,863	116,359	41.73
1984	281,902	113,958	40.42
1985	284,940	111,556	39.15
1986	287,979	109,155	37.90

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

Table 4.45 Total Population Between 65 and 74 Years of Age, Total In Labour Force Within These Same Ages, and Participation Rates, 1945 to 1986.

	POPULATION 65-74 YEARS	LABOUR FORCE	PARTICIPATION RATE
1945	104,348	21,541	20.64
1946	107,686	22,161	20.58
1947	111,024	22,781	20.52
1948	114,362	23,401	20.46
1949	117,699	24,021	20.41
1950	121,037	24,641	20.36
1951	124,375	25,261	20.31
1952	125,276	25,531	20.38
1953	126,176	25,801	20.45
1954	127,077	26,071	20.52
1955	127,977	26,341	20.58
1956	128,878	26,611	20.65
1957	128,762	26,085	20.26
1958	128,646	25,559	19.87
1959	128,531	25,033	19.48
1960	128,415	24,507	19.08
1961	128,299	23,981	18.69
1962	130,198	24,598	18.89
1963	132,098	25,215	19.09
1964	133,997	25,832	19.28
1965	135,897	26,449	19.46
1966	137,796	27,066	19.64
1967	141,496	27,034	19.11
1968	145,196	27,001	18.60
1969	148,897	26,969	18.11
1970	152,597	26,936	17.65
1971	156,297	26,904	17.21
1972	161,498	26,151	16.19
1973	166,699	25,398	15.24
1974	171,901	24,645	14.34
1975	177,102	23,892	13.49
1976	182,303	23,139	12.69
1977	185,619	22,012	11.86
1978	188,936	20,885	11.05
1979	192,252	19,759	10.28
1980	195,569	18,632	9.53
1981	198,885	17,505	8.80
1982	201,107	16,440	8.17
1983	203,330	15,375	7.56
1984	205,552	14,310	6.96
1985	207,775	13,245	6.37
1986	209,997	12,180	5.80

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

CHAPTER FIVE

THE REGULATION OF CONSUMPTION FROM 1920 TO 1985

INTRODUCTION

In Part Three of Chapter Three we referred to the dictionary definition of consumption as "the expending or using up, completing" and that consumption covered a whole variety of social activities. These activities are concerned with the using up of use values designed to renew the energies expended in the production phase of the cycle of activity. The mode of consumption also refers to the social relations which govern access to and command over the use values of the mode of consumption. We distinguished between two main categories of use values of the mode of consumption: the means of consumption and the objects of consumption. The means of consumption refer to those use values which are of a durable nature and which are used over a lengthy period such as houses or motor vehicles. Objects of consumption are those use values which are immediately used and consumed, such as food and clothing.

We also identified two ideal modes of consumption: the limited mode and the 'Fordist' mode. These highlight different use values, the social relations of access to those use values, and the implications those use values have for the regulation of social activities. In the limited mode of consumption the emphasis is upon objects of consumption such as food and clothing, collective transport facilities and non-monetary recreation and leisure. In the 'Fordist' mode of consumption the emphasis shifts to the means of consumption, such as home and vehicle ownership, mechanised domestic labour, and monetary recreation and leisure. In the 1920s and 1930s the mode of consumption was predominantly limited to the

objects of consumption, although home ownership was widespread and motor vehicle ownership was beginning to expand. There was a general transition from the limited to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption during the whole of the period we are concerned with, namely from 1923 to 1985. In this Chapter we consider the implications of the transition from the limited to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption upon primary regulation. Our main focus of attention is the household as the major institutional form involved in the regulation of consumption. However, we also consider the implications of the transition of the mode of consumption for the regulation of activities within civil society.

The analysis of consumption will be structured around a number of themes. These themes are concerned firstly with the level of income, which sets limits of access to the use values of the mode of consumption. We have referred to this as adequacy of the means of consumption. We consider the question of adequacy in relation to the limited and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The second theme concerns the degree of social fluidity, or alternatively the degree of individualism which the mode of consumption makes possible. The third issue concerns inter-generational relations. This analysis is designed to make possible a consideration, in Chapter Seven, of the implications of the various forces upon the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency.

We will examine these themes for the period between 1923 and 1936 first, and then in the period between 1945 and 1970, and then finally from 1970 until the mid-eighties.

PART ONE: THE LIMITED MODE OF CONSUMPTION 1921-1936

1. The Adequacy of the Means and Objects of Consumption

This period can be conveniently split into two sub-periods, the first between 1921 and 1930, and then from 1930 until 1936. Both of these periods were characterised by economic depression, but the intensity of depression deepened in the 1930s.

a. The Period Between 1921 and 1930

i. Income Fluctuation

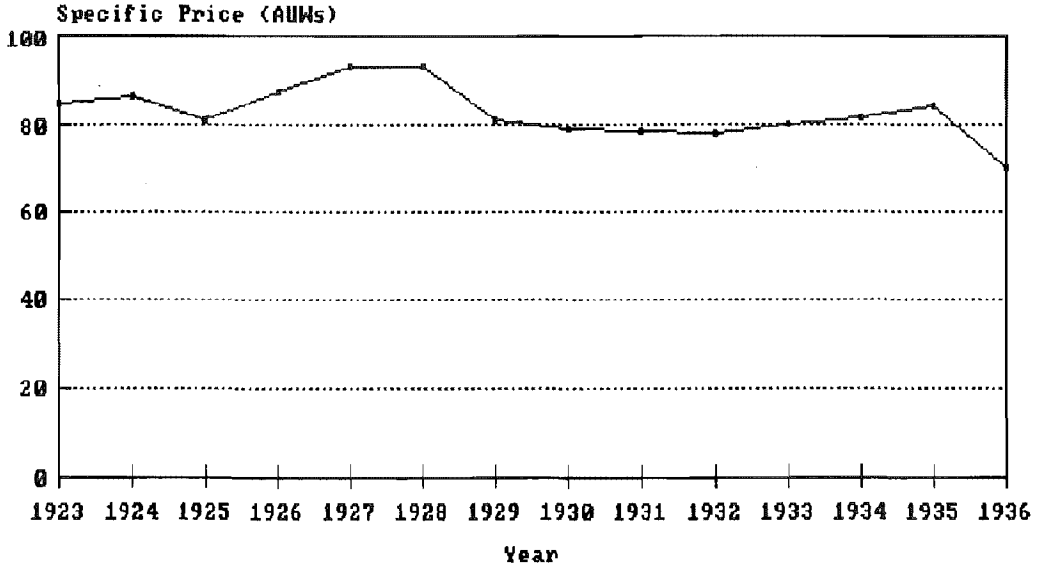
In Chapters Three and Four we pointed out that the incomes of the majority of wage-earners in the period between 1921 and 1936 were insufficient on their own to acquire what we will call the monetary component of the limited mode of consumption. Participation in this mode of consumption was dependent upon multiple income households, and this in fact was the case for most households where the average number of wage-earners per household ranged between 1.86 and 2.06 during the period between 1921 and 1936 (see Table 5.4).

In this period the costs of the limited consumption basket fluctuated quite markedly reflecting the movements in wages and prices. The other factor which also regulated access to the limited mode of consumption was the demand for labour power, which also changed throughout the whole period.

The fluctuations in the specific price of the limited consumption basket are shown in Figure 5.1. In the early part of the 1920s the specific price fluctuated around 80 AUWs, and then climbed to a high point in 1929, and then

fell until 1932, to climb once more and to finally fall in 1936. During the period between 1926 and 1929 the rise in the specific price of the limited consumption basket was accompanied by a fall in the demand for labour power and a growth in unemployment. This meant that prices were rising and the volume of work was falling, making it difficult for some households to work the extra time needed to compensate for rising prices. During the depression of the 1930s the demand for labour power collapsed and unemployment climbed very dramatically, causing widespread social disruption and hardship (see Table 5.12). For those in work, however, the fall in prices meant that they were relatively better off than during the 1920s.

Figure 5.1 Fluctuations in the Specific Price of the Limited Consumption Basket, 1923 to 1936.



Source: Pearce (1986), Household Budget Survey (1930)

ii. The Distribution of Income

Even though the mode of consumption in this period has been characterised as a limited mode of consumption,

participation in this mode of consumption was still dependent upon money income. For this reason we will examine the distribution of incomes during this period. In this analysis we will rely upon three different data sets which all show similar trends. There is firstly, the distribution of income as revealed in the Census returns of income. There is secondly, the distribution of household income in the 1926 and 1936 Census. Thirdly, we will rely upon the distribution of wages as revealed in the factory production data.

Table 5.1 Distribution of Wage-Earning Household Income Expressed In Weekly Income Rates, 1926.

WEEKLY INCOME	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE	
NO INCOME	526	0.38	
< $2.00	2,077	1.49	
< $5.96	16,040	11.47	
< $7.96	27,141	19.41	
< $11.96	67,783	48.48	
< $13.96	10,436	7.46	LEVEL 1
< $13.96	13,203	9.44	LEVEL 2
NOT SPECIFIED	2,602	1.86	
TOTAL	139,808	100.00	

Source: New Zealand Census 1926

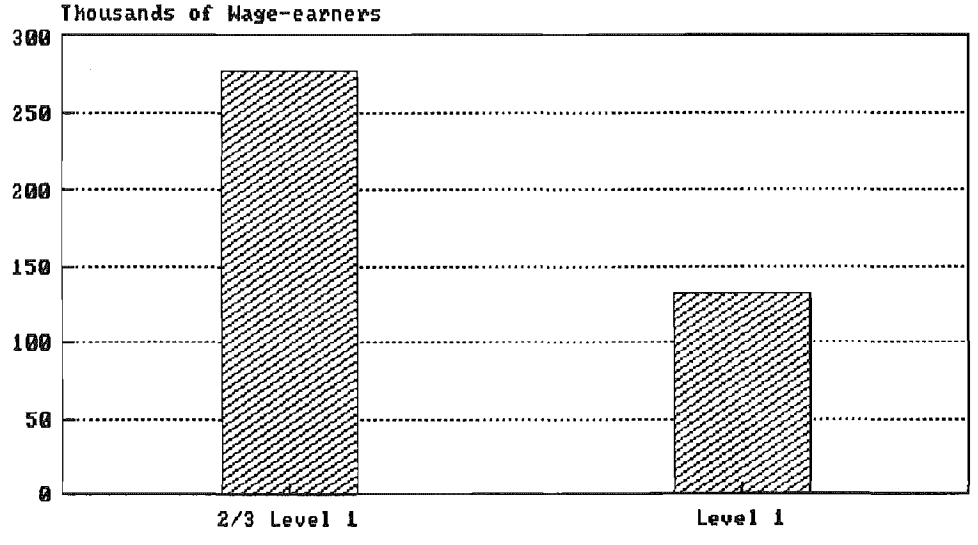
The first point which emerges out of Table 5.1 is that 88.7% of all wage-earning households' incomes were under the limits required to participate in the limited consumption basket. Fewer than 10% had incomes which reached Level 2 or better. We do not have the incomes of other household groupings, but it is clear that the limited consumption norms were widely distributed across New Zealand society.

A closer examination of the 1926 Census gives some hint of the nature of the household income distribution, and the adequacy of income to meet the consumption norms. We

have calculated the distribution of households whose incomes could be described as inadequate. These were households whose incomes were under $8.16, which was two thirds the cost of the limited consumption basket, and they accounted for 45,784 wage-earning households, or 32.75% of all wage-earning households.

An analysis of male wage-earners' income distribution in 1926 shown in Figure 5.2 revealed that 28.27% of male wage-earners received 15.92% of the income of male wage-earners, 58.67% received 65.16% and 12.76% received 18.91% of the income received by male wage-earners. These figures make it clear that there was a sector at the lower end of the income distribution scale where the question of inadequacy of the means of consumption was a major factor governing their conditions of life.

Figure 5.2 Distribution of wage-earner's income 1926.



Source: New Zealand Census, 1926

One of the factors which precluded participation in the limited mode of consumption in this period was the

seasonal nature of much of the work which was available at this time. Table 5.8 shows the numbers who were affected by seasonal work in 1926 and 1927, and how the demand for labour ebbed and flowed during the course of the year. The build-up in unemployment grew steadily throughout the 1920s as we can see from Table 5.6 and, while low compared with the 1930s, these numbers were sufficient to give rise to concern, shown by the setting up of a committee of inquiry into the problem of unemployment.[1]

There are three sources of evidence which all point to the existence of a significant proportion of the population with inadequate means of consumption in this period. The Reverend Rule, a Christchurch probation officer, referred to those who were struggling and to a sordid side to life. Reverend Rule identified offending with sordidness, and he recognised that the offending population was drawn from this struggling group (AJHR H20 1926). In addition the Health Department Reports detail the high incidence of physical deformity among school children including ailments associated with malnutrition which impaired the health of the school population.[2] The Ex-Soldiers Commission (AJHR H39 1930) expressed concerns about the plight of some ex-serviceman. These ex-servicemen were part of the itinerant labouring group, having few skills and generally in a sorry state. The Commission inquired into these problems and made suggestions to help relieve their suffering. However, it seems to us that their plight was symptomatic of a much broader problem affecting labouring men in times of labour force reorganisation and change, which we highlighted in Chapter Four.

In addition to those who were excluded from participation in waged work as a result of the changing nature of the regime of accumulation and the wage relation, there were a group of households who were excluded from

participation in waged work as a result of misfortunes. When a misfortune such as death, or marital separation intervenes it can often result in the household being excluded from waged work. These households in this period were dependent upon charitable aid, which was limited compared with the aid available under the welfare system. We will refer to this when dealing with the period between 1945 and the late 1980s and early 1990s. Eldred-Grigg's (1987) story of a poor Christchurch family in the 1930s shows how a family coped with their impoverishment after the husband and father left the home. It seems likely that the households in this category represent those with incomes in the lowest levels of Table 5.1. We discuss Eldred-Griggs's book in some detail later.

iii. The Pressures Impacting Upon Households in Relation to Adequacy of the Means of Consumption

There can be no doubt that the rise and fall of the specific price of the limited consumption basket, as depicted in Figure 5.1, affects the conditions of existence of those concerned who must work longer to maintain the same standard of consumption. If the demand for labour falls then it is likely that over a twelve month period a worker would have problems being able to purchase the means and objects of consumption.

b. The Depression of the 1930s, and Adequacy of the Means of Consumption

We will look now at the way in which the pressures of the depression impacted upon the working class. The specific price of the limited consumption basket fell during 1930, 1931 and 1932, rose in 1933, 1934 and 1935, and fell again in 1936. However, during 1930, 1931 and 1932 the demand for labour power fell dramatically and there were high levels of unemployment. There is a discernable

increase in the demand for labour power in 1933, but it is not a strong resurgence.

The figures we have studied thus far show that there was a steady build-up in unemployment during the period of the 1920s. The build-up in unemployment is set out in Table 5.12. However, serious as unemployment was in the 1920s, it was minor compared with the savagery of unemployment during the depression of the early thirties. By June 1931 there were 51,100 on the register, amounting to approximately 10% of the labour force. The numbers and distribution of unemployment among the different sectors of the regime of accumulation are set out in Tables 5.10 to 5.15. The bulk of these were on relief work, with a smaller number on subsidised work.[3] In the early stages of the depression there was no provision for sustenance without work. The conditions which these men endured were very harsh.[4]

The unemployment rates were highest among general labourers who cannot be located in any one specific sector of the regime of accumulation (see Tables 5.10 and 5.11). These general labourers moved from sector to sector in search of work in such areas as farm labouring, bush felling and clearing, public works, construction labouring and so on (Sutch, 1965). General labourers accounted for an average of 39.65% of the unemployed during this period (see Tables 5.10 and 5.11). No doubt the seriousness of unemployment would have been alleviated to some extent during the height of the summer season when the industrial food complex was busiest, but because of the high numbers of unemployed, it meant that the majority of the unemployed labourers would have been dependent upon relief work for sustenance. A system of subsidised employment was instituted, and the numbers employed on subsidised work within industry grew steadily from the beginning of 1932. By 1936 about one third of the unemployed were either on relief, subsidised work or

receiving sustenance without work. Even by May 1936 there were still 51,208 registered on the unemployment register (see Table 5.13).

There is evidence of an increasing demand for labour, beginning during the height of the summer season of 1933. This conclusion is drawn from an analysis of Table 5.5 dealing with the numbers employed in factory production in the month of March in each year. There are increases in 1933 and the following years. In Table 5.9 the percentage of wage-earners receiving wages amounting to two-thirds of the specific price of the limited consumption basket fell, and in 1934 there was a drop of nearly 12,000 in unemployment (see Table 5.12). The relief in the distressing conditions must have been helped to some extent by the numbers on subsidised work which increased from mid-1932 onwards (see Table 5.12).

In Tables 5.14 and 5.15 we have attempted to calculate the number of households affected directly by unemployment. This ranges between 26,686 in December 1931 to 36,741 in December 1933. This represents a range of between 8.38% and 11.10% of all households. In addition to this even for many in factory or labouring work, it is clear that their incomes did fall during the depression. The probability that wages were below two-thirds of the specific price of the limited consumption basket increased during the depression (see Table 5.9). From about 1933 there are signs, however, that the pressure was beginning to ease, as we suggest above, but there were still in excess of 50,000 on the unemployed register in May 1936 (see Table 5.12).

It is surprising that the crime rate did not increase during the depression of the 1930s more than it did, given the degree of impoverishment and inadequacy of the means of consumption. However, this might mean that it is not impoverishment or inadequacy on its own which

accounts for the core cause of crime, or its contraction and expansion. During the depression of the early thirties a significant number of households were excluded from participation in waged work but they devised alternative ways of meeting their needs. This sort of strategy is portrayed in Simpson's (1976) history of the depression. Mulgan in *Man Alone* (1949) describes another series of strategies which emerged, involving a non-cash way of life. These were the strategies which the respectable but struggling households developed, rather than resorting to crime or illegal actions.

The tightening in access to the means and objects of the limited mode of consumption forced people into alternative ways of satisfying their needs, but it must have involved considerable hardship given the reliance which had developed upon monetised consumption. At the same time we need to recognise that many of those who managed to remain in full employment during the depression experienced an improvement in their conditions of existence given the fall in the specific price of the limited consumption basket. The growth in the numbers of motor vehicles, and the corresponding growth in traffic offending, are both indications of the beginnings of the transition from the limited to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, and shows clearly that the forces released during the depression were uneven in their consequences.

2. Social Fluidity and the Limited Mode of Consumption

Social fluidity is a metaphor expressing the extent to which social actions are flexible and diverse in nature. Although we are introducing notions of agency, our concern is with the way in which agency is regulated, and we wish to identify the regulatory mechanisms of what we call fluid social agency. The opposite of fluid in this context is fixed, set, rigid or inflexible. The expression tries to capture the extent to which the range

of activities available to persons is open, varied and diversified on the one hand, or confined or narrow on the other hand. A fixed, static, or rigid society is one in which the range of activities which individuals might choose is limited and restricted. On the other hand, a fluid society is one where there are many options available to what persons might do, and there are fewer restrictions on what is possible or not possible. Our concern will be to identify how these fluid activities are regulated.

The notion of fluidity is linked to the use values of the mode of consumption. For example, motor vehicle use enhances individual spatial mobility compared with the use of a bicycle, and a society where motor vehicles are widely used would be a more fluid society than one where the bicycle or public transport predominated. Likewise, the use of bicycles enhances the range of activities compared with restrictions to walking. We are not, therefore, using the term fluidity in a normative sense such that society is more fluid because of relaxed moral standards. At the same time, however, an increase in fluidity has important implications upon the normative order of a society, as we will show in our discussion of fluidity in the period from 1945 to the late 1980s in Chapter Six.

Under the limited mode of consumption the means of consumption were restricted and this limited the potential range of activities which individuals could undertake, compared with the extended range of activities possible under a 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The thing which characterises the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, in contrast with the limited mode of consumption, is that the means of consumption enlarge the potential range of activities. This is because of the dominance of the individual and private use of the means of consumption under the 'Fordist' mode of consumption,

and also because access to these means of consumption is based upon monetary exchange.

All societies have social norms which govern and regulate access to, command over and use of the means of consumption (Moore, 1978). These norms become the dominant means of regulating the mode of consumption centred upon the private and individual use of the means of consumption, and where access is regulated by monetary exchange. The most obvious example of what we have in mind is the recreation and leisure aspects of the limited mode of consumption. This involved what we call mutualist, cooperative activities (these still exist under an intensive mode of consumption of course), where the participants contribute their activity power[5] to the activity, and contribute and receive on a reciprocal basis.

The activity power of participants in reciprocal activities is a use value for others engaged in the activity. The reciprocal basis of social regulation, which depends upon the participants contributing their activity power as a use value to the activity, compared with activities regulated by monetary exchange, tends to be static and inflexible. Reciprocal activities depend upon the reciprocal contributions of those participating. It also requires the participants to accord recognition and autonomy to each other. The balancing of these tensions creates limits to the degree of fluidity or flexibility which is possible. On the other hand, where the activity is dominated by individual and private use of an object such as a motor vehicle or some other durable object there are not the same restraints upon the boundaries of social action.

The basis of social control shifts from the reciprocal contributions made to an activity, and the benefits drawn from it, to one where social rules govern the use of the

means of consumption. Such rules tend to focus on the use of the object in ways which do not harm other persons. This involves an important shift from the participants regulating and controlling the actions of each other to one where agencies such as the police become involved in the control of persons in their use of the means of consumption.

There are two spheres where this question of fluidity is important. The first relates to the domestic division of labour and the contributions and rewards made and received within domestic households. The second concerns the sphere of recreation and leisure within households and in civil society.

The degree of domestic labour spent in the preparation of meals and in cleaning was considerable under the limited mode of consumption. All members of households were invariably required to make some contribution to the needs of the household, and they were integrated into the household's activities in terms of this domestic division of labour.[6] As we will see Eldred-Grigg (1987) brings this out very well in his book *Oracles and Miracles*. *Oracles and Miracles* deals with the lives of twin sisters born in Christchurch in 1929. They were the last children born into a large family where the father and husband deserted the family soon after the girls were born. The girls' mother was a formidable woman who ruled the family with an iron fist. From a very early age the two girls had jobs which contributed to the needs of the household. They were disciplined by their mother and the older members of the family. The family survived through a variety of strategies and from the monetary contributions of the working members of the family. The pressure to conform to the norms of the neighbourhood are brought out in the text, where standards of cleanliness were maintained. The family was aware of its marginality but did all in its power to ensure it was seen as

respectable. One of the girls left home during her working adolescent years as a result of an argument over the amount of board she should pay to her mother. This daughter was able to exercise some discretion over her living arrangements as she secured a job in an office rather than a factory. This was in the period immediately following the end of the second world war when the labour force was expanding and a basis for independence for the emerging generation was developing.

In the National Industrial Conference (1928:168) there is reference to the long hours worked by dairy factory and other workers. These workers worked more than 60 hours per week during the season, but we have no indication of the intensity of the work. However, these long hours of work must have exhausted the energies of the persons concerned, which means that the bulk of the domestic labour would have fallen on women. This was at a time when, as we have observed, the degree of mechanisation of domestic labour was low. It is around these constraints of the relationship between free and constrained time (Preteceille and Terrail, 1985:113) that the domestic division of labour of all household members was organised. In these conditions all household members were required to make a contribution to the needs of the household.

This form of social organisation within households meant that the range of activities available was limited for all household members. This inflexible and static form of social organisation had important implications for the control of the actions of the emerging generation, which we will deal with in the next section.

An interesting aspect of Eldred-Grigg's story of conditions in Christchurch in the 1930s is the way in which a poor family went to great pains to comply with a code of respectability. This compliance stemmed from the

influence and force that neighbours were able to impose upon each other to act in a respectable way. Under the limited mode of consumption neighbours shared the residential space in an intimate way and depended upon each other for recognition and approval as a condition of acting in the common residential space. In this way neighbours were able to enforce a code of respectability. In the limited mode of consumption 'the neighbours' were a constraining and often oppressive force. By the same token 'the neighbours' could be a source of support and help.

Leisure and recreation under the limited mode of consumption were predominantly organised on mutualist, cooperative lines. This is apparent from the details of the limited consumption basket where few items of monetised recreation and leisure are recorded. In Chapter Three we have referred to the variety of recreation, leisure and sporting activities which were part of the diversity and variety of the limited mode of consumption. The point to be made here is that these activities were coordinated and organised on reciprocal lines. The essential ingredient, for example in reciprocal recreation and leisure, is the contributions each participant makes to the activity. A group of friends who play cards depend upon each others contribution, and each participant is regulated in terms of that contribution, and must abide by the norms imposed during the course of the activity.

The reciprocal regulation of activities involves an intimacy of interaction among participants which can be both oppressive and supportive. It most certainly means that the range of options available to people is restricted and limited compared with a situation in which the form of regulation shifts from reciprocity to monetary regulation, and also involves the private and individual use of the means of consumption. Under the

limited mode of consumption the boundaries of the activity are determined by what the participants in the group will collectively allow. In the 'Fordist' mode of consumption the boundaries are set by the rules governing the use of a tangible object. In this situation the collective norms are more difficult to enforce.

The discussion in this section has drawn a sharp distinction between the limited and 'Fordist' modes of consumption in terms of the qualitatively different forms of regulation. In reality the distinction is not as clear-cut, and it is more accurate to say that in the case of the limited mode of consumption reciprocity is more important than under the 'Fordist' mode. Our concern in a sense is with the way in which reciprocity loses its capacity to regulate social activities, under a 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

3. Inter-Generational Relations Under the Limited Mode of Consumption

In our discussion of social fluidity we have already touched upon one of the main mechanisms through which the activities of the emerging generation were controlled. This was the domestic division of labour and the contributions required from all members of households. The other mechanism relates to the interdependence which existed between the established generation and adolescent and younger adult workers. Individual wage rates in the 1920s and 1930s have been shown as inadequate to enable participation in the limited mode of consumption, and that if this was to be possible households required multiple incomes. In many cases these multiple incomes came from adolescents and young adults who were in the labour force. The work of married women at this stage was located in the household, engaged in domestic labour.

The established generation depended upon the incomes of their adolescent and young adult workers, and these same persons depended upon their parents for housing and accommodation. These same adolescent and young adult workers were the products of a domestic division of labour where they would have been trained in the requirements of making a contribution towards the needs of the household. Under the limited mode of consumption the emerging generation's activity power was constrained and restricted around these two mechanisms.

One of the most interesting features of the offending patterns in the 1920s and 1930s compared with the period from the mid-1950s is the changed age range of the offenders. It is not our intention to discuss offence patterns at this stage except to highlight important differences of social regulation. In the 1920s and 1930s the offenders were predominantly men over 25 years of age, and the offence patterns were dominated by disorder offending. In the period from the mid-1950s the age of offenders falls and males under 25 years of age dominate the offending statistics.

The almost complete absence of young males from the disorder offence statistics in the 1920s and 1930s is the product of the constraints and restrictions facing the emerging generation under the limited mode of consumption. Disorder offending occurs in the sphere of recreation and leisure. The limited mode of consumption organised on reciprocal lines and concentrated on sporting activities controlled by older men afforded few opportunities for young men to misbehave in ways which brought them to the attention of the police.[7] We do not suggest that the emerging generation were made of tougher moral fibre than their counterparts from the mid-1950s onwards. In the 1920s and 1930s the emerging generation were controlled and constrained through their participation in domestic labour and reciprocal leisure

and recreation activities, and this form of regulation was effective enough to only involve the police to a limited extent compared with the period after the mid 1950s.

Table 5.2 Specific Price of the Limited Consumption Basket (LCB) and the Hours Required to Produce a Limited Consumption Basket (LCB), 1923 to 1936.

YEAR	SPECIFIC PRICE OF AN LCB	AVERAGE HOURS WORKED TO PRODUCE AN LCB
1923	85.01	47.78
1924	86.26	47.74
1925	81.12	47.85
1926	87.53	47.72
1927	93.58	47.60
1928	93.58	48.04
1929	81.12	48.02
1930	79.34	46.83
1931	78.70	45.95
1932	77.98	46.42
1933	80.08	46.71
1934	81.55	47.31
1935	84.47	47.52
1936	69.93	44.11

Source: Pearce (1986) and Household Budget Survey, 1930

Table 5.3 Hours Required to Produce the Limited Consumption Basket (LCB) Based on Factory Production Data, 1923 to 1936

YEAR	HOURS REQUIRED TO PRODUCE LCB
1923	53.26
1924	54.05
1925	50.82
1926	54.84
1927	58.63
1928	58.63
1929	50.82
1930	49.71
1931	49.31
1932	48.86
1933	50.17
1934	51.09
1935	52.94
1936	43.82

Source: Pearce (1986) and Household Budget Survey, 1930

Table 5.4 Number of Households, Total Labour Force and Ratio of Labour Force to Households, 1923 to 1936

YEAR	HOUSEHOLDS	LABOUR FORCE	LABOUR FORCE: HOUSEHOLDS
1923	270,697	539,276	1.99
1924	275,932	556,626	2.02
1925	281,166	573,977	2.04
1926	286,400	591,327	2.06
1927	292,750	597,253	2.04
1928	299,101	603,178	2.02
1929	305,452	609,104	1.99
1930	311,802	615,030	1.97
1931	318,152	620,955	1.95
1932	324,503	626,881	1.93
1933	330,854	632,807	1.91
1934	337,204	638,733	1.89
1935	343,554	644,658	1.88
1936	349,905	650,584	1.86

Source: New Zealand Census 1921, 1926 and 1936

Table 5.5 Number of Wage-Earners in Factory Production 1923 to 1936 Receiving Income During One Week in March of the Year Concerned

YEAR	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
1923	53,071	12,130	65,201
1924	54,652	11,820	66,472
1925	56,983	12,048	69,031
1926	56,848	12,278	69,135
1927	56,613	12,807	69,420
1928	57,153	13,224	70,377
1929	57,438	13,696	71,134
1930	60,217	14,823	75,040
1931	51,307	12,776	64,083
1932	42,291	13,143	55,434
1933	43,621	13,659	57,280
1934	46,305	15,184	61,489
1935	51,804	17,204	69,008
1936	57,637	19,070	76,707

Source: Factory Production Data, 1923 to 1936

Table 5.6 Number of Persons Registered as Unemployed at the End of Each Month from January 1923 to July 1929

YEAR	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL
1923	671	616	556	586
1924	371	343	345	401
1925	329	308	363	395
1926	425	448	547	576
1927	1349	1433	1824	1553
1928	2185	3137	2509	2938
1929	2457	2440	2956	3263
	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST
1923	784	847	649	544
1924	496	560	604	475
1925	463	528	792	449
1926	1185	2092	1674	1697
1927	2282	2408	2708	2498
1928	3348	3317	3042	2434
1929	3427	3662	3896	
	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
1923	49	382	380	268
1924	489	432	294	239
1925	500	382	385	344
1926	1795	1472	1328	1226
1927	2229	1952	1634	1575
1928	2344	2212	1815	1476

Source: AJHR H11 1930

Table 5.7 Number of Unemployed by Age and Percentage for each Age group of the Labour Force, as at July 8, 1929.

AGE GROUP	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
UNDER 25y	868	22.28
25-44y	1810	46.46
45-64y	1078	27.67
OVER 65y	57	1.46
UNSPECIFIED	83	2.13
	3896	100.00

Source: AJHR H11 1930

Table 5.8 Seasonal Fluctuations in Specific Sectors of Employment in New Zealand, 1926 and 1927

	NUMBERS EMPLOYED IN	
	MEAT FREEZING BUTTER,CHEESE	OTHER MANUFACTURING
1926		
JANUARY	10,349	43,437
FEBRUARY	10,947	43,800
MARCH	10,805	43,768
APRIL	10,282	43,462
MAY	8,995	43,104
JUNE	6,805	42,794
JULY	5,495	42,752
AUGUST	5,088	42,828
SEPTEMBER	5,620	43,433
OCTOBER	6,023	43,548
NOVEMBER	6,782	43,923
DECEMBER	9,150	44,165
1927		
JANUARY	10,690	45,974
FEBRUARY	10,868	46,219
MARCH	10,830	46,448
APRIL	10,063	45,879
MAY	9,003	45,391
JUNE	7,184	44,998
JULY	5,452	45,137
AUGUST	5,267	45,165
SEPTEMBER	5,792	45,676
OCTOBER	6,144	46,057
NOVEMBER	6,912	46,328
DECEMBER	9,433	46,351
MEAN FOR 24 MONTHS	8,082	44,610

	BUILDING	PUBLIC WORK	TOTAL
1926			
JANUARY	9,126	9,007	62,912
FEBRUARY	9,289	9,401	64,036
MARCH	9,231	9,357	63,804
APRIL	9,279	9,403	63,023
MAY	9,368	9,359	61,467
JUNE	9,368	9,591	58,967
JULY	8,937	10,250	57,184
AUGUST	9,005	10,222	56,921
SEPTEMBER	9,348	10,198	58,401
OCTOBER	9,228	10,265	58,799
NOVEMBER	9,330	10,528	60,035
DECEMBER	9,178	10,037	62,493

1927	BUILDING	PUBLIC WORK	TOTAL
JANUARY	9,060	9,823	65,724
FEBRUARY	8,896	10,737	65,983
MARCH	8,748	10,887	66,026
APRIL	9,283	11,428	65,225
MAY	9,159	11,693	63,553
JUNE	8,376	11,794	60,558
JULY	8,530	11,742	59,119
AUGUST	8,600	11,708	59,032
SEPTEMBER	8,889	11,375	60,357
OCTOBER	8,850	11,160	61,051
NOVEMBER	9,155	10,855	62,395
DECEMBER	9,075	9,287	64,859
MEAN FOR 24 MONTHS	9,059	10,421	59,372

Source: AJHR H11B 1930

Table 5.9 The Specific Price of the Limited Consumption Basket (LCB), Two-Thirds of the Limited Consumption Basket (LCB), and the Probability of Labour Power Under this Level in the Month of March and Receiving Wages in Factory Production, 1923 to 1936.

YEAR	SPECIFIC PRICE OF THE LCB	TWO-THIRDS OF THE LCB	PROBABILITY OF LABOUR POWER UNDER 'TWO-THIRDS OF THE LCB'
1923	85.01	56.11	.38856
1924	86.26	56.93	.37834
1925	81.12	53.54	.38116
1926	87.53	57.77	.37429
1927	93.58	61.76	.37071
1928	93.58	61.76	.37346
1929	81.12	53.54	.38067
1930	79.34	52.36	.37178
1931	78.70	51.94	.38291
1932	77.98	51.47	.43187
1933	80.08	52.85	.45976
1934	81.55	53.82	.47017
1935	84.47	55.75	.46847
1936	69.93	46.15	.46364

Source: Factory Production Data, 1923 to 1936

Table 5.10 Registered Unemployed by Sectors of Labour Force as at the 31 December, Based on Percentages of Unemployed in 1935 - 1931, 1932, and 1933.

SECTOR	DEC 1931	DEC 1932	DEC 1933
INTERMEDIATE GOODS PROD.	2,151	2,861	2,902
GENERAL LABOURERS	20,678	27,505	27,898
CONSTRUCTION	7,156	9,519	9,656
METALS/MACHINERY	2,953	3,928	3,984
AGRICULTURE	4,901	6,519	6,613
FOOD MANUFACTURE	1,656	2,203	2,235
TEXTILES/CLOTHING	849	1,129	1,145
HOUSEHOLD DURABLES	578	769	780
HOUSEHOLD OPERATIONS	432	575	583
RECREATION	182	242	246
WHOLESALE/RETAIL	4,281	5,695	5,776
FINANCE	1,656	2,203	2,235
HOUSEHOLD SERVICES	443	589	597
TRANSPORT/COMMUNICATION	4,011	5,335	5,411
STATE SERVICES	156	208	211
TOTAL	52,085	69,281	70,273

Source: AJHR H11B 1930 to 1936

Table 5.11 Registered Unemployed by Sectors of Labour Force as at the 31 December (31 May for 1936), Based on Percentages of Unemployed in 1935 - 1934, 1935, and 1936.

SECTOR	DEC 1934	DEC 1935	MAY 1936
INTERMEDIATE GOODS PROD.	2,347	2,366	2,115
GENERAL LABOURERS	22,565	22,741	20,330
CONSTRUCTION	7,810	7,870	7,036
METALS/MACHINERY	3,223	3,248	2,903
AGRICULTURE	5,348	5,390	4,819
FOOD MANUFACTURE	1,807	1,822	1,628
TEXTILES/CLOTHING	926	934	835
HOUSEHOLD DURABLES	631	636	568
HOUSEHOLD OPERATIONS	472	475	425
RECREATION	199	200	179
WHOLESALE/RETAIL	4,677	4,708	4,209
FINANCE	1,807	1,822	1,628
HOUSEHOLD SERVICES	483	487	435
TRANSPORT/COMMUNICATION	4,377	4,411	3,943
STATE SERVICES	171	172	154
TOTAL	56,838	57,281	51,208

Source: AJHR H11B 1930 to 1936

Table 5.12 Number of Unemployed and Classification of Unemployed, 1931 to 1936.

	ON REG. WORK	RELIEF NO WORK	SUSTENANCE WORK	SUBSIDISED ON REGISTER	TOTAL
1931					
30TH JUN	6,700	38,000		6,400	51,100
30TH SEP	7,600	43,000		3,990	54,590
31 DEC	4,800	39,300		7,985	52,085
1932					
31 MARCH	7,000	37,000		10,520	54,520
30 JUNE	7,450	43,850		17,350	68,650
30 SEP	6,540	45,100		22,010	73,650
29 OCT	6,206	44,033		21,732	71,971
26 NOV	5,348	42,808		21,155	69,311
24 DEC	5,199	43,106		20,976	69,281
1933					
21 JAN	6,272	42,012		19,581	67,865
18 FEB	5,391	39,963		20,510	65,867
18 MARCH	5,585	39,874		21,193	66,652
15 APRIL	5,312	40,946		21,997	68,255
13 MAY	5,830	42,585		22,117	70,532
10 JUNE	5,802	43,837		23,279	72,918
8 JULY	5,511	45,304		24,219	75,034
5 AUG	5,125	45,749		27,217	78,091
2 SEP	4,517	45,699		28,411	78,627
30 SEP	4,301	44,743		30,391	79,435
28 OCT	2,911	42,717	888	31,641	78,157
25 NOV	3,671	39,025	897	32,384	74,977
23 DEC	2,533	39,906	964	29,870	70,273
1934					
20 JAN	3,635	35,933	1,087	27,836	68,491
17 FEB	3,208	33,216	1,573	29,191	67,188
17 MARCH	3,273	32,555	1,793	27,766	65,387
14 APRIL	3,377	32,173	2,016	27,583	65,179
12 MAY	3,656	32,613	2,350	26,921	65,540
9 JUNE	3,407	33,126	2,718	23,386	62,637
7 JULY	4,178	33,523	3,628	23,482	64,811
4 AUG	3,840	33,320	4,974	24,157	66,291
1 SEPT	3,504	33,167	5,748	24,097	66,516
29 SEPT	3,272	32,731	5,569	23,189	64,761
27 OCT	2,375	30,572	6,431	22,324	62,062
24 NOV	2,910	28,976	6,063	21,400	59,349
22 DEC	2,131	28,303	5,923	20,481	56,838
1935					
19 JAN	3,280	26,775	6,136	19,175	55,366
16 FEB	3,187	24,936	6,948	18,250	53,321
16 MARCH	3,153	24,204	8,211	17,930	53,498
13 APRIL	3,292	24,634	8,866	17,243	54,035
11 MAY	2,847	25,379	9,874	16,208	54,908
8 JUNE	3,025	25,043	11,262	16,936	56,266
6 JULY	3,414	25,243	12,842	17,483	59,982
3 AUG	2,806	25,387	14,438	17,746	60,377
31 AUG	2,581	24,817	15,347	18,061	60,806

	ON REG. WORK	RELIEF WORK	SUSTENANCE WORK	SUBSIDISED ON REGISTER	TOTAL
28 SEPT	2,500	24,183	15,517	18,144	60,344
26 OCT	2,043	22,260	15,378	18,800	58,481
23 NOV	1,825	19,610	15,544	21,267	57,246
21 DEC	1,737	18,844	15,072	21,628	57,281
1936					
18 JAN	2,233	17,365	15,179	21,725	56,502
15 FEB	2,012	15,922	14,450	22,270	54,654
14 MARCH	1,872	15,704	14,443	22,510	54,529
11 APRIL	2,013	15,514	15,750	16,542	49,819
9 MAY	2,642	15,528	17,100	15,938	51,208

Source: AJHR H11B 1930 to 1936

Table 5.13 Probability Distribution for Each Classification of Unemployed, 1931 to 1936.

	ON REG. WORK	RELIEF NO WORK	SUSTENANCE WORK	SUBSIDISED ON REGISTER	TOTAL
1931					
30TH JUN	.13112	.74364	.00000	.12524	1.00000
30TH SEP	.13922	.78769	.00000	.07309	1.00000
31 DEC	.09216	.75454	.00000	.15331	1.00000
1932					
31 MARCH	.12839	.67865	.00000	.19296	1.00000
30 JUNE	.10852	.63875	.00000	.25273	1.00000
30 SEP	.08880	.61236	.00000	.29885	1.00000
29 OCT	.08623	.61182	.00000	.30195	1.00000
26 NOV	.07716	.61762	.00000	.30522	1.00000
24 DEC	.07504	.62219	.00000	.30277	1.00000
1933					
21 JAN	.09242	.61905	.00000	.28853	1.00000
18 FEB	.08185	.60672	.00000	.31139	1.00000
18 MARCH	.08379	.59824	.00000	.31796	1.00000
15 APRIL	.07783	.59990	.00000	.32228	1.00000
13 MAY	.08266	.60377	.00000	.31357	1.00000
10 JUNE	.07957	.60118	.00000	.31925	1.00000
8 JULY	.07345	.60378	.00000	.32277	1.00000
5 AUG	.06563	.58584	.00000	.34853	1.00000
2 SEP	.05745	.58121	.00000	.36134	1.00000
30 SEP	.05414	.56327	.00000	.38259	1.00000
28 OCT	.03725	.54655	.01136	.40484	1.00000
25 NOV	.04896	.52049	.01196	.43192	1.00000
23 DEC	.03605	.56787	.01372	.42506	1.00000
1934					
20 JAN	.05307	.52464	.01587	.40642	1.00000
17 FEB	.04775	.49437	.02341	.43447	1.00000
17 MARCH	.05006	.49788	.02742	.42464	1.00000
14 APRIL	.05181	.49361	.03093	.42319	1.00000
12 MAY	.05578	.49760	.03586	.41076	1.00000
9 JUNE	.05439	.52886	.04339	.37336	1.00000
7 JULY	.06446	.51724	.05598	.36232	1.00000
4 AUG	.05793	.50263	.07503	.36441	1.00000
1 SEPT	.05268	.49863	.08642	.36227	1.00000
29 SEPT	.05052	.50541	.08599	.35807	1.00000
27 OCT	.03827	.49260	.10362	.35970	1.00000
24 NOV	.04903	.48823	.10216	.36058	1.00000
22 DEC	.03749	.49796	.10421	.36034	1.00000
1935					
19 JAN	.05924	.48360	.11083	.34633	1.00000
16 FEB	.05977	.46766	.13031	.34227	1.00000
16 MARCH	.05894	.45243	.15348	.33515	1.00000
13 APRIL	.06092	.45589	.16408	.31911	1.00000
11 MAY	.05185	.46221	.17983	.29518	1.00000
8 JUNE	.05376	.44508	.20016	.30100	1.00000
6 JULY	.05692	.42084	.21410	.29147	1.00000
3 AUG	.04647	.42047	.23913	.29392	1.00000
31 AUG	.04245	.40813	.25239	.29703	1.00000

	ON REG. WORK	RELIEF WORK	SUSTENANCE WORK	SUBSIDISED ON REGISTER	TOTAL
28 SEPT	.04143	.40075	.25714	.30068	1.00000
26 OCT	.03493	.38064	.26296	.32147	1.00000
23 NOV	.03188	.34256	.27153	.37150	1.00000
21 DEC	.03032	.32897	.26312	.37758	1.00000
1936					
18 JAN	.03952	.30733	.26865	.38450	1.00000
15 FEB	.03681	.29132	.26439	.40747	1.00000
14 MARCH	.03433	.28799	.26487	.41281	1.00000
11 APRIL	.04041	.31141	.31614	.33204	1.00000
9 MAY	.05159	.30323	.33393	.31124	1.00000

Source: AJHR H11B 1930 to 1936

Table 5.14 Numbers Registered as Unemployed, the Ratio of Workers Per Household, and the Number of Households Affected By Unemployment, 1931 to 1936.

YEAR	REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED	WORKERS PER HOUSEHOLD	HOUSEHOLDS AFFECTED BY UNEMPLOYMENT
1931	52,085	1.95	26,686
1932	69,281	1.93	35,863
1933	70,275	1.91	36,741
1934	56,838	1.89	30,006
1935	57,281	1.88	30,526
1936	51,208	1.86	27,541

Source: AJHR H11B 1931 to 1936; New Zealand Census 1921, 1926

Table 5.15 Numbers on Relief, Number of Households Affected By Relief and the Percentage Increase/Decrease of Those on Relief, 1931 to 1936

YEAR	NUMBERS ON RELIEF	HOUSEHOLDS AFFECTED BY RELIEF	% INCREASE/ DECREASE
1931	46,467	22,783	-
1932	48,940	25,334	11.19
1933	47,317	24,739	-2.35
1934	35,613	18,801	-24.00
1935	26,693	14,225	-24.34
1936	18,161	9,768	-31.34

Source: AJHR H11B, 1930 to 1936

PART TWO: THE 'FORDIST' MODE OF CONSUMPTION

1. The Adequacy of the Means and Objects of Consumption

In this section we distinguish three periods. The first is between 1945 and 1955, which corresponds to a transition towards a 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The second period involves the diffusion of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The third period relates to the crisis of the intensive regime of accumulation, which has important implications for the 'Fordist' mode of consumption in terms of the polarisation of two consumption groups.

Most New Zealanders over 15 years of age in 1945 had been through the depression of the 1920s and 1930s and the 1939-1945 war, or had been close enough to it to have been deeply influenced by these events. The children of the generation of the 1940s and 1950s were reminded time and again of the hardships and dangers inherent in wage-labour, and youngsters were incessantly advised to seek stable and secure employment. The people of this generation, chastened as they were by the depression and the war, sought from life secure and stable conditions in which to bring up their children and live their lives. Those who had returned from the war came back with keen and confident notions of themselves, and New Zealanders regarded themselves as the equals of all, and better than most.[8]

At this time the consumption norms reflected the limited mode of consumption and the distribution of income of all wage-earners and those wage-earners who were heads of households reflected this mode of consumption. However, there was a clear upward shift, in that only a few wage-earners incomes met the norms of the limited mode of consumption in the 1920s and 1930s, whereas by 1950

almost all incomes could satisfy the norms of the limited mode of consumption. This represented a marked improvement in the material wealth of the whole of New Zealand society. In terms of the norms of the limited mode of consumption, the question of precariousness, in the sense of poverty and impoverishment for the mass of society, had been overcome. The period between 1950 and 1970 represented the transition to and consolidation of the intensive regime of accumulation and also involved the transition to a 'Fordist' mode of consumption. However, as we have seen from the examination of the wages/consumption relation in Part Three of Chapter Four, many households have never been part of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. These households engage in a semi-'Fordist' mode of consumption. In the period between 1945 and 1970, the consumption norms were continuously undergoing change so it is not possible to talk about adequacy of the means of consumption in the way we did when considering the more static period of the 1920s and 1930s.[9]

2. The Transition to the 'Fordist' Mode of Consumption

As we have shown in Part Two of Chapter Four the period between 1945 and 1970 involved a reconstruction of the production norms, and the conditions of participation in waged work. This restructuring was based upon the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process (Blackburn et al, 1985) in the appropriation and substitution strategies associated with land-based food and fibre production (see the discussion in Chapter Four). This involved the formation of an intensive regime of accumulation, and was accompanied by a massive increase in the productive forces of New Zealand society, and by an equally massive increase in the volume of goods and services. This situation was the basis of the gradual shift in the

consumption norms and the generalisation of a 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

By 1961 the majority of wage-earners were located in Level 2 of the wage/consumption relation. In 1961 the Federation of Labour conducted a study of the expenditure patterns of some of its members throughout New Zealand. The expenditure patterns revealed in this study confirm the concentration of incomes in the second level of the wages/consumption relation. From this data it seems safe to say that the bulk of households' consumption norms represented a point between the two modes, and that some elements of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption had been incorporated in the consumption patterns of the bulk of wage-earners (Federation of Labour, 1962).

The Metwally (1970) study was done in 1968 in the Hamilton area and showed that most households' consumption was in Level 3 of the wages consumption relation. The Metwally study suggests, therefore, that by 1968 the 'Fordist' mode of consumption had become more or less diffused across New Zealand society, although there were many households whose incomes were insufficient for full participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption (see Part Three of Chapter Four). In other words during the 1960s there was a major shift in households having access to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

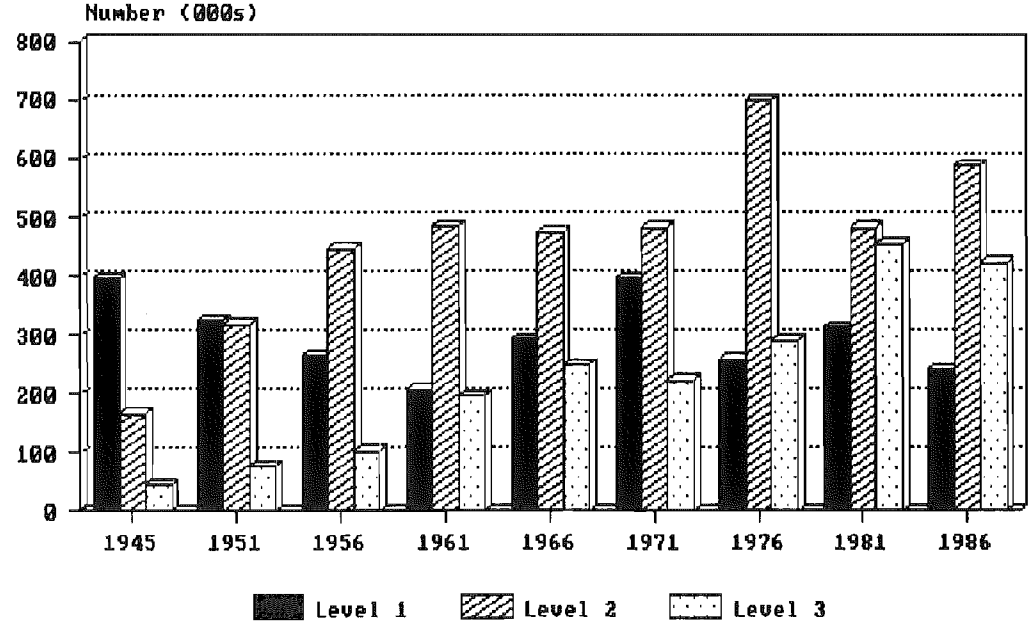
According to the Federation of Labour study, by 1961 the majority of households in New Zealand had a mode of consumption which incorporated some, if not all of the features of a 'Fordist' mode of consumption. At this point the basic items such as food, housing and apparel dominate expenditure patterns, but household durables had advanced considerably ahead of the limited mode of consumption. The household durables and transport categories were, however, much lower than in the

'Fordist' mode of consumption and the patterns revealed in the Metwally study.

The 1960s represents the time when private motor vehicles and household durables became much more widely diffused among New Zealand households. Between 1961 and 1968 the number of private cars increased from 541,246 to 830,205 representing an increase of 53.39%. In the same period the number of households increased from 633,911 to 750,337, which is an increase of 18.37%. From our analysis of factory production data we know that capital formation in consumer durables production 'took off' in the period between 1956 and 1966. This coincides with our claim that a mass market for consumer durables had formed by the 1960s.

There are some puzzling aspects to the generalisation of

Figure 5.3 The Distribution of Incomes as Revealed in the Census, Relative to the Wages/Consumption Relation, 1945 to 1986.



Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

the 'Fordist' mode of consumption in relation to the movement of wage levels during the 1960s. It is clear that participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption was more general during the 1960s and yet there is evidence of a slowing in the shift in wage rates moving into higher levels of the wages/consumption relation after 1961. This slowing in the growth in real wages in shown in Figure 5.3, which shows how incomes rose significantly between 1945 and 1961, but then the rate of increase slowed during the 1960s, picking up again in the 1970s. This seems to conflict with the assumption of a generalisation of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. However, if the generalisation was achieved through an increase in the ratio of multi-income to single-income households this could explain the apparent contradiction. We think this is what happened.

However, this is not all that was happening in the entire period between 1945 and 1971 in terms of the structure of household social relations, which had consequences for the regulation of consumption. There was also an increase in the number of dependent households, that is, dependent upon social welfare as the major source of income, and an increase in households headed by women who were in the labour force.

We will look at the multi-income household thesis first. The female labour force expanded in absolute terms, but the changing age configuration shows that much of the growth did not come from younger females entering the labour force, but from older women coming into the labour force. In the period between 1945 and 1960 the major increase of the ages of female workers was in the group between 45 and 65 years of age. Between 1966 and 1971 there was a significant expansion of the number of women in the 25-45 age group entering the labour force. We suggest that it is the entry of both of these age groupings of women into the labour force which made it

possible for the generalisation of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption in the period between 1961 and 1986.

Table 5.16 The Age Distribution of the Female Labour Force Between 1945 and 1986, Together With Percentages In Each Grouping.

	< 25y	25-45y	45-65y	TOTAL
NUMBER				
1945	80,873	56,656	22,921	160,450
1951	76,884	58,699	31,443	167,026
1956	81,515	64,596	43,025	189,136
1961	96,533	68,640	54,756	219,929
1966	122,014	82,818	68,161	272,993
1971	132,120	108,199	83,739	324,058
1976	146,850	156,907	98,952	402,709
1981	146,658	185,954	100,338	432,950
1986	140,097	196,776	92,727	429,600
PERCENTAGE				
1945	50.40	35.31	14.29	100.00
1951	46.03	35.14	18.83	100.00
1956	43.10	34.15	22.75	100.00
1961	43.89	31.21	24.90	100.00
1966	44.69	30.34	24.97	100.00
1971	40.77	33.39	25.84	100.00
1976	36.47	38.96	24.57	100.00
1981	33.87	42.95	23.18	100.00
1986	32.61	45.80	21.58	100.00

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

Table 5.17 Percentage Change in Each Age Grouping of the Female Labour Force Between 1945 and 1986.

	PERCENTAGE INCREASE/DECREASE		
	< 25Y	25-45y	45-65y
1945			
1951	-4.93	3.61	37.18
1956	6.02	10.05	36.83
1961	18.42	6.26	27.27
1966	26.40	20.66	24.48
1971	8.28	30.65	22.85
1976	11.15	45.02	18.17
1981	-.13	18.51	1.40
1986	-4.47	5.82	-7.59

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

The second thesis concerns the increase in the number of dependent households.

Table 5.18 The Number and Percentage of Heads of Households Located in Level 1 of the Wages/ Consumption Relation, who were Dependent or Wage-earners Between 1945 and 1971.

	DEPENDENT[10]	PERCENTAGE	WAGE-EARNERS	PERCENTAGE
1945	24,843	6.15	52,216	12.94
1951	62,048	12.56	57,993	11.73
1956	52,201	9.27	26,674	4.73
1961	59,830	9.44	18,283	2.88
1966	75,937	10.61	29,970	4.18
1971	79,144	9.93	68,418	8.58

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1971

This increase in the case of dependent households is clearly expressed in the above Table 5.18. In the case of wage-earners the trend is for the numbers in level 1 to decline between 1945 and 1961, which is consistent with the rising percentage of male wage-earners in higher levels of income. However, the large increase in wage-earners who were heads of households and in Level 1 of the wages/consumption relation, between 1961 and 1971 is noteworthy. These figures are a manifestation of two social changes. Firstly, they reflect an increase in the number of households who were dependent upon the welfare system for subsistence. Secondly, they reflect an increase in the number of households headed by women, many of whom were in the labour force.

What we have is the development of three tiers of households. There are those households linked to the regime of accumulation through participation in waged work. It is possible to distinguish two sub-groupings of households in terms of participation in waged work. As we have shown in Part Two of Chapter Four the first tier

of households was engaged in the stable sectors of the core production process and those involved in management, supervision and planning tasks. The second tier consisted of those whose participation was more spasmodic, being engaged in labouring and mundane tasks in factory production, construction and transport. The third tier of households was the group we identified in the previous paragraph who were dependent upon the welfare system, or who were headed by women who participated in waged work at low wage levels.

It is interesting that dependent households have since 1945 exceeded more than 5% of all households, and there is both a percentage increase and an absolute increase in the number of dependent households, suggesting the emergence of a welfare dependency group which expanded in this period. The emergence of this group cannot be related directly to the changing nature of participation in waged work, but is the outcome of the disruptions to households such as death or marital breakdown. In this period the households affected were able to obtain some assistance from the state, but this assistance precluded participation in the advancing standards of consumption of the time.[11]

The second and third tiers of households are equivalent in some ways to the precarious population of the 1920s and 1930s. The thing which distinguishes the two marginal or precarious groupings for our purposes is the major shift from the limited to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. In the limited mode of consumption precariousness was associated with impoverishment and poverty. In the case of the generalisation of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption the precarious population are denied access or have limited access to four features which distinguish the 'Fordist' mode of consumption: home ownership, motor vehicles, consumer durables and monetised recreation and leisure. We refer to the

restricted access to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption as a semi-'Fordist' mode of consumption.

The recreation and leisure aspects of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption are dominated by monetised activities, and this destroys or weakens the recreation and leisure modes of the limited mode of consumption. Reduced income means limited access to the dominant modes of recreation and leisure. We can speak of impoverishment in the transformed mode of 'Fordist' consumption in terms of the degree of access to home ownership, consumer durables, private transport and commodified leisure and recreation. We do not mean to suggest that poverty in its more traditional garb is totally abolished, for it certainly exists, but its presence is limited compared with the 1920s and 1930s.

We have argued that the intensive regime of accumulation entered a crisis phase from the early 1970s, and we have already seen that this had implications for the nature of the wage relation. We now propose to consider the implications of this crisis upon the adequacy of consumption in terms of the norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

The changing nature of the wages/consumption relation was dealt with in Part Three of Chapter Four, where we noted a trend for more and more households to move into higher levels of the wages/consumption relation in the 1970s and 1980s. This was possible because of the growth in the number of multi-income households in relation to single income households. We noted how it was possible to identify three new levels of consumption by combining Levels 1 and 2 and creating a new Level 4 which represents an income 1.5 times the 'Fordist' consumption basket. We have on this classification Levels 1 and 2 (combined as one level), which we will call the semi-'Fordist' mode of consumption, and Levels 3 and 4. Level

3 is equivalent to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, and Level 4 is what we will call the post-'Fordist' mode of consumption.

By using the monetary value of private consumption revealed in the National Accounts we have been able to obtain some sort of measure of the distribution of consumption between 1976 and 1986. To do this we converted the cost of the 'Fordist' consumption basket in each year from 1971 to 1986 by using the Consumers' Price Index. We then converted the monetary value of consumption to the equivalent number of 'Fordist' consumption baskets. By using the Census data on Household incomes we were then able to calculate the number of 'Fordist' consumption baskets that incomes of

Table 5.19 Consumption Expenditure in $Million, the Number of 'Fordist' Consumption Baskets (FCBs), the Number of Households and the Average Number of 'Fordist' Consumption Baskets (FCBs) Per Household Per Annum, 1971 to 1986.

YEAR	CONSUMPTION IN $MILLION	NO. OF FCBs	HOUSEHOLDS (H/H)	FCBs PER H/H PER YEAR
1971	4,210	53,116,326	801,686	66
1972	4,751	56,098,713	826,000	68
1973	5,459	59,589,564	850,314	70
1974	6,206	60,944,712	874,629	70
1975	7,098	60,843,477	898,943	68
1976	8,162	59,825,552	923,257	65
1977	9,181	58,837,478	939,062	63
1978	10,353	59,275,163	954,867	62
1979	12,105	61,074,672	970,672	63
1980	14,255	61,269,664	986,477	62
1981	16,645	62,011,027	1,002,282	62
1982	18,589	59,595,409	1,015,715	59
1983	20,041	59,856,042	1,029,148	58
1984	22,514	62,865,020	1,042,580	60
1985	26,286	63,099,176	1,056,013	60
1986	30,828	66,650,616	1,069,446	62

Source: NZ System of National Accounts and New Zealand Census, 1971 to 1986

certain levels could purchase. We then multiplied the number of households by the number of consumption baskets the income would purchase to determine the distribution of consumption in each income grouping.[12]

One important point is that the level of consumption at the macro level fell in the period between 1971 and 1986. Although the volume of consumption increased so too did the number of households. In 1971 the average number of 'Fordist' consumption baskets consumed per household was 66, rising to 70 in 1974, and then declining as shown in Table 5.19.

The next thing that arises is the distribution of the volume of consumption around the average. We have presented a distribution based upon the assumptions set out above in Tables 5.20 and 5.21. In Tables 5.20 and 5.21 we see that in 1976 approximately 44% of households were located in Levels 1 and 2 and had the potential to consume 21% of the available consumption baskets. In 1981 the percentages were 45% and 20% respectively, and in 1986 they were 54% and 31% respectively. These figures

Table 5.20 The Distribution of Notional 'Fordist' Consumption Baskets, and the Probability Distribution in Each Level of the Wages/ Consumption Relation, 1976, 1981 and 1986.

	LEVELS 1 & 2	LEVEL 3	LEVEL 4
1976	12,119,120	12,031,917	31,237,320
1981	10,653,126	10,365,151	31,818,785
1986	17,188,243	12,276,209	25,540,505
1976	.21880	.21723	.56397
1981	.20162	.19617	.60221
1986	.31249	.22318	.46433

Source: NZ System of National Accounts 1971 to 1986, and New Zealand Census, 1976 to 1986

Table 5.21 The Distribution of Households, and the Probability Distribution in Each Level of the Wages/Consumption Relation, 1976, 1981 and 1986.

	LEVELS 1 & 2	LEVEL 3	LEVEL 4
1976	366,402	183,620	272,795
1981	356,529	155,751	267,180
1986	501,282	175,938	248,943
1976	.44530	.22316	.33154
1981	.45741	.19982	.34278
1986	.54125	.18996	.26879

Source: New Zealand Census 1976, 1981 and 1986

indicate a tightening in the levels of consumption for those in Levels 1 and 2 of the wages/consumption relation between 1976 and 1981. There was, however, a slight easing in their conditions between 1981 and 1986. In Levels 1 and 2 during these years the average number of 'Fordist' consumption baskets per year were 33, 30, and 34 in 1976, 1981 and 1986 respectively, which we have calculated by combining the figures in Tables 5.20 and 5.21. It is clear on this basis that a significant number of households in this period were unable to engage in the norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. It is clear that even though we have spoken of the generalisation of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption many households' level of consumption did not reach the level of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption in the period between 1971 and 1986.

The interesting point is that by 1986 there was a majority of households in Levels 1 and 2 of the wages/consumption norms whereas in 1976 and 1981 there was a majority in Levels 3 and 4. This indicates a general shift downwards in the consumption norms in the period between 1981 and 1986. In 1976 and 1981 the top 16% of the household incomes received the equivalent of

36% of the consumption. In 1986 the top 20% shared 35% of the consumption.

Our principal interest is in the households in Levels 1 and 2, and we can be reasonably confident in claiming that this group, while enjoying a standard of consumption well in advance of the limited norms of consumption of the 1920s and 1930s, were unable to participate fully in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. There is also evidence of many in this group condemned to poor housing and to a standard of living well below what is the norm for this period (Waldergrave and Coventry, 1987).

The Department of Statistics published details of consumption in the years 1982 to 1986. These equate closely with the calculations upon which the above Tables

Table 5.22 The Break-down of Consumption Expenditure and Patterns 1982 to 1986, expressed in 1986 Constant $000,000.

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
FOOD	3,761	3,708	3,796	3,687	3,818
BEVERAGE	941	934	961	942	1,044
CLOTHING/FOOTWEAR	2,030	1,959	2,044	1,984	2,143
IMPUTED RENTAL	2,802	2,887	3,133	3,658	3,864
RENTAL PAYMENTS	930	910	960	1,066	1,116
FUEL/POWER	655	640	624	638	724
FURNITURE/APPLIANCES	1,411	1,384	1,454	1,378	1,465
TEXTILES/TABLEWARE	591	571	606	585	635
OTHER GOODS/SERVICES	535	547	566	554	604
HEALTH/MEDICAL	1,277	1,270	1,323	1,398	1,592
CARS	1,719	1,658	1,900	1,762	1,696
VEHICLE OPERATION	2,346	2,412	2,569	2,747	2,537
PUBLIC TRANSPORT	1,050	1,075	1,126	1,167	1,147
RECREATION/EDUCATION	2,501	2,536	2,636	2,566	2,773
HOTELS/RESTAURANTS	2,273	2,340	2,506	2,563	2,668
TOBACCO	605	641	661	625	687
PERSONAL GOODS	898	899	939	957	1,027
POST/TELEGRAPH	465	472	475	445	518
SERVICES N.E.C.	737	768	880	960	1,034
TOTAL	27,529	27,612	29,156	29,683	31,091

Source: NZ System of National Accounts 1988

are based. The importance of these later figures (in Tables 5.22 and 5.23) is that they provide data on the macro consumption and expenditure patterns of New Zealand society.

These figures demonstrate more clearly than the Household Surveys the extent to which the leisure and recreation spheres of the activity cycle are subject to monetary consumption. In the period between 1982 and 1986 an average of 23.02% of the total of household consumption expenditure was related to recreation, leisure and education, which included beverage, hotels and restaurants and tobacco. These recreation categories (which include education) exceeded the amount spent on food and clothing combined. The average expenditure of the total of household expenditure for food and clothing was 19.97%. When we add the money spent on private and

Tables 5.23 The Probability Distribution of Expenditure in Each Category of the Consumption Basket, 1982 to 1986.

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
FOOD	.13663	.13428	.13019	.12422	.12280
BEVERAGE	.03420	.03382	.03296	.03172	.03358
CLOTHING/FOOTWEAR	.07376	.07094	.07012	.06684	.06893
IMPUTED RENTAL	.10179	.10456	.10746	.12325	.12428
RENTAL PAYMENTS	.03377	.03297	.03291	.03591	.03589
FUEL/POWER	.02381	.02316	.02140	.02151	.02329
FURNITURE/APPLIANCES	.05124	.05013	.04988	.04642	.04712
TEXTILES/TABLEWARE	.02148	.02066	.02078	.01971	.02042
OTHER GOODS/SERVICES	.01943	.01981	.01940	.01867	.01943
HEALTH/MEDICAL	.04637	.04598	.04536	.04709	.05120
CARS	.06245	.06004	.06516	.05936	.05455
VEHICLE OPERATION	.08523	.08735	.08811	.09254	.08160
PUBLIC TRANSPORT	.03815	.03892	.03863	.03931	.03689
RECREATION/EDUCATION	.09085	.09186	.09041	.08644	.08919
HOTELS/RESTAURANTS	.08258	.08475	.08594	.08633	.08581
TOBACCO	.02197	.02321	.02268	.02106	.02210
PERSONAL GOODS	.03263	.03257	.03220	.03224	.03303
POST/TELEGRAPH	.01688	.01711	.01630	.01500	.01666
SERVICES N.E.C.	.02679	.02782	.03017	.03236	.03326
TOTAL	1.000001	.000001	.000001	.00000	1.00000

Source: NZ System of National Accounts 1988

individual transport and consumer durables to that spent on recreation we get some idea of the enormous shift in the nature of the recreation and leisure consumption patterns under a 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

3. Summary of the Adequacy of the Means of Consumption

The period between 1945 and 1970 is one of transition from a limited to a 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The period between 1945 and 1960 is the main transition period, and the 1960s is the time when the 'Fordist' mode of consumption becomes diffused across New Zealand society. During this time the norms of consumption undergo continuous change as the 'Fordist' mode of consumption becomes gradually generalised, but with significant numbers of households still only partly integrated into this mode of consumption. There is between 1945 and 1961 a general shift in wage levels, but during the 1960s the rate of the shift slows and the generalisation of the mode of consumption depends upon an increase in the number of multi-income households. This is achieved through an increase in the number of women over 25 years of age in the labour force. Between 1974 and 1986 there is a fall in the volume of consumption at the macro-level of society, but we are able to identify two major consumption groups, one whose consumption norms are well below the 'Fordist' level, and a second group capable of overconsumption. In this period the group in the bottom level range from 44% to 54% of the households and have the capacity to consume between 20% to 31% of the volume of consumption.

The major elements which distinguish a limited and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption are the concentration on home ownership, private transport and consumer durables, and monetised leisure and recreation. The core of the limited mode of consumption of food, clothing, housing

and public transport are a relatively small proportion of the cost of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. Adequacy can be understood as a question of access to the enlarged range of consumption based around home ownership, motor vehicles, consumer durables and monetised leisure. We have noted that significant numbers of households have limited access to these features which distinguish the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. However, it is clear that even those households with lower income levels have not experienced impoverishment or poverty on the scale which existed in the 1920s and 1930s.

4. Social fluidity and the Transition to, and Generalisation of the 'Fordist' Mode of Consumption

The notion of fluidity is simply a metaphor for describing a more flexible and diverse lifestyle, linked to the individual and private use of the means and objects of consumption. As the means and objects of consumption expand they result in a wider range and diversity of activities which we call a more fluid society. Our aim in this section is to indicate the linkages between a lifestyle based on use values of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption - home and vehicle ownership, mechanised domestic labour and monetary recreation and leisure - and social regulation.

We propose to discuss the question of fluidity around three themes. The first will involve the mechanisation of domestic labour. Secondly, we will consider the impact of private transport on the level of fluidity. Thirdly, we will analyse the commodification of leisure and recreation, and the diffusion of durables such as radio, television, and videos. The commodification of recreation and leisure will include a consideration of the impact of the increased hotel hours in 1967 and the proliferation of restaurants. We will then consider the exaltation of monetised recreation and leisure and the

question of emulation. This analysis is aimed at an understanding of the emergence of what we call the 'Joe Swinger syndrome' which is a key issue affecting the predatory potential of New Zealand society.

5. The Mechanisation of Domestic Labour

It is difficult from an analysis of statistical data to determine the diffusion of domestic appliances at any one time because of the changing nature of the recording method. This is an indication of the changing nature of the mode of consumption. The one means of consumption which does allow us to develop a time series is the means of cooking. In 1945 the dominant means of cooking was the coal and wood range with 37.50% of households having this as the main form of cooking. From this time the trend is for the relative and real number of coal ranges to fall and for electricity to become the dominant, if not exclusive, means of cooking. Gas as a means of cooking also falls in the same period. These changes are set out in Table 5.24.

Table 5.24 Number and Percentage of Dwellings with Electric, Coal and Gas Ranges as Main Form of Cooking 1945 to 1986.

	ELECTRIC RANGE	% ELECTRIC	COAL RANGE	% COAL	GAS RANGE	% GAS
1945	120,278	29.82	151,280	37.50	95,626	23.79
1951	Not available					
1956	318,810	56.62	108,291	19.23	88,818	15.77
1961	434,960	68.63	75,390	11.89	82,695	13.04
1966	560,234	78.23	51,559	7.20	72,988	10.19
1971	694,068	86.57	38,624	4.81	66,662	8.31
1976	829,940	89.89	23,562	2.55	61,737	6.68
1981	925,404	92.25	16,773	1.67	56,760	5.65
1986	series discontinued					

Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1986

In Table 5.25 we have set out the build-up in washing machines and refrigerators between 1956 and 1971. In this period the 'Fordist' mode of consumption insofar as it related to the mechanisation of cooking, cleaning and food storage had become fairly universal in New Zealand society. The almost universal diffusion of refrigerators indicates major changes in the preparation and cooking of food. The proliferation of these means of consumption is consistent with the accumulation of capital in the production of consumer durable products which we noted earlier. (The New Zealand Year Book does not record the number of vacuum cleaners except for 1966 when 88.84% of all dwellings were equipped with vacuum cleaners).

Table 5.25 Percentage of Dwellings Equipped with Washing Machines and Refrigerators Between 1956 and 1971.

	WASHING MACHINES	REFRIGERATORS
1956	56.21	53.55
1961	77.04	80.39
1966	86.60	91.05
1971	90.51	96.29

Source: New Zealand Census 1956 to 1971

These changes in the mode of consumption reduced the amount of direct labour time required to carry out cleaning, cooking and washing tasks. This had consequences for the domestic division of labour which we will consider in the next section. These changes also played some part in making it possible for many women to enter the labour force, at least on a part-time basis. We have already noted the age configuration of the female labour force, and the part it played in the generalisation of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The mechanisation of domestic labour did not therefore lighten the domestic labour burden of society. We are not suggesting either that the workload of women was

reduced as a result of the mechanisation of domestic labour. Our point is that the mechanisation of domestic labour changed the basis of contributions to domestic needs and thereby altered the reciprocal basis of regulation within households.

6. The Proliferation of Private and Individual Use of Transport

We will use the growth in private cars as an indicator of the degree to which transport contributed to an 'Fordist' mode of consumption. Table 5.26 shows that the growth in the number of private cars was greatest during the decade of the 1950s with a growth of 112.54%.

In the decade of the 1960s the growth rate was 72.63%. We can see that from the onset of the crisis of the 'Fordist' regime of accumulation that the growth in the number of motor vehicles is much lower than in the earlier periods. The growth in the absolute number of cars is matched by the growth in the ratio of cars to households. As we argued earlier the private form of transport becomes universal in the late 1960s when there is one car per household on an arithmetic basis. In reality of course, many of the cars are owned by businesses and other organisations, and some households have more than one car. However, Table 5.26 is useful in pointing to the growing diffusion of motor vehicles in New Zealand society.

The diffusion of the private and individual use of motor vehicles plays a significant part in the emergence of a fluid and mobile society. The private and individual use of motor vehicles is one of the most important factors in the creation of a mobile and fluid society. We cannot stress its importance too much. Once again we see that the crucial period of diffusion is the 1950s and 1960s.

Table 5.26 Number and Percentage Increase in the Number of Private Cars, the Number of Households and the Ratio of Cars to Households between 1945 and 1986.

	CARS	PERCENT INC/DEC	H/HOLDS	CARS PER H/HOLD	PERCENT INC/DEC
1945	203,708	-	403,334	0.51	-
1946	206,070	1.16	418,447	0.49	-2.49
1947	209,474	1.65	433,560	0.48	-1.89
1948	225,704	7.75	448,673	0.50	4.12
1949	232,516	3.02	463,786	0.50	-0.34
1950	242,882	4.46	478,899	0.51	1.16
1951	263,073	8.31	494,012	0.53	5.00
1952	297,416	13.05	507,820	0.59	9.98
1953	318,234	7.00	521,628	0.61	4.17
1954	335,960	5.57	535,436	0.63	2.85
1955	376,677	12.12	549,244	0.69	9.30
1956	411,217	9.17	563,052	0.73	6.49
1957	442,760	7.67	577,224	0.77	5.03
1958	480,629	8.55	591,396	0.81	5.95
1959	497,057	3.42	605,567	0.82	1.00
1960	516,220	3.86	619,739	0.83	1.48
1961	541,194	4.84	633,911	0.85	2.49
1962	573,194	5.91	650,350	0.88	3.24
1963	604,824	5.52	666,788	0.91	2.92
1964	656,043	8.47	683,227	0.96	5.86
1965	715,598	9.08	699,665	1.02	6.52
1966	749,907	4.79	716,104	1.05	2.39
1967	807,728	7.71	733,220	1.10	5.20
1968	830,205	2.78	750,337	1.11	0.44
1969	858,360	3.39	767,453	1.12	1.09
1970	891,202	3.83	784,570	1.14	1.56
1971	938,861	5.35	801,686	1.17	3.10
1972	990,491	5.50	826,000	1.20	2.39
1973	1,059,305	6.95	850,314	1.25	3.89
1974	1,122,095	5.93	874,629	1.28	2.98
1975	1,167,333	4.03	898,943	1.33	4.27
1976	1,205,433	3.26	923,257	1.31	-1.31
1977	1,234,106	2.38	939,062	1.31	0.66
1978	1,251,636	1.42	954,867	1.31	-.26
1979	1,280,837	2.33	970,672	1.32	0.67
1980	1,322,493	3.25	986,477	1.34	1.60
1981	1,363,077	3.07	1,002,282	1.36	1.44
1982	1,405,096	3.08	1,015,715	1.38	1.72
1983	1,431,739	1.90	1,029,148	1.39	0.57
1984	1,530,176	6.82	1,042,580	1.46	5.00
1985	1,614,610	5.50	1,056,013	1.52	4.10
1986	1,694,631	4.95	1,069,446	1.58	3.94

Source: New Zealand Abstract of Statistics, 1945 to 1986

Not only does the private and individual use of motor vehicles become the principal form of transportation, but motor vehicles become a central feature in the formation of household and individual strategies. The ownership of motor vehicles involves the development of credit and financing arrangements, and in the period following 1945 there was a significant proliferation of financial institutions providing credit for the purchase of motorvehicles.[13]

It is not just the purchase of new motor vehicles which is important. The creation of a market in used vehicles is the principal means of vehicle ownership in New Zealand. Car ownership is dependent upon integration in the labour force and in being able to qualify for credit. This disqualifies those on the fringes of society who do not form part of the paid labour force, and/or do not establish a credit worthiness record. The widespread private and individual use of motor vehicles means that car ownership is regarded as a desirable goal and aim for people around which their household strategies are planned. Car ownership also becomes, in this period, a means through which status is achieved and through which identity is gained and socially conferred.

7. Monetised Recreation and Leisure

There are two ways in which recreation and leisure have become monetised. The first refers to the appropriation of recreation and leisure by means of a commodity. The radio, television, radiograms, stereos, compact discs and videos are examples of this form of commodified recreation and leisure. The second method of commodification concerns the expansion of the hotel and restaurant forms of recreation and leisure. Other examples include the growth of activities such as skiing, boating, caravanning and hobbies such as photography.

The older forms of recreation and leisure such as sports and games are modified to the extent that certain conventions emerge concerning the 'correct' type and use of equipment and gear. These conventions serve to create barriers of entry to the activity and thereby exclude some persons from participation. For example, to play golf a person must have their own set of clubs and on some golf courses wear 'acceptable' clothing. Participation in the expanded, but monetised recreation and leisure outside the household is also closely related to access to the private and individual use of transport.

The case of television is a useful case study of the nature of the appropriation of recreation and leisure within the household by a commodity. Television broadcasting started in Auckland in 1960, in Christchurch and Wellington in 1961 and Dunedin in 1962. In the 1966 Census 63.12% of all dwellings were equipped with a television set and this grew to 84.62%, 89.40% and 90.30% in 1971, 1976 and 1981 respectively. In this period most dwellings were equipped with radios, meaning that the mass of the people were exposed to much the same media reports and messages. The introduction of television created a crisis for the cinema industry which had been a major form of recreation and leisure since the 1920s and 1930s. Between the introduction of television in 1960 and 1970 the attendance at cinemas halved (Lealand, 1988:85).

The extension of hotel opening hours in late 1967 dramatically altered the leisure and recreation habits of New Zealand society. Prior to 1967 hotel bars were required to close at 6.00 pm. This resulted in a rigid separation in the alcohol consumption practises of men and women as women were largely excluded from hotel bars (Phillips, 1987). However, with the introduction of extended hours new patterns of socialising between men and women quickly developed. In this period restaurants

offering alcohol with meals were beginning to appear and to proliferate. With their emergence new patterns of dining and socialising quickly established themselves. As we have seen above the level of monetary expenditure in hotels and restaurants between 1982 and 1986 amounted to approximately 8.5% of all consumption. We have no way of contrasting this expenditure with earlier periods because of lack of data.[14]

In Table 5.22 above there is a category for beverages which we assume relates largely to alcohol purchased and consumed within households. This category amounts to approximately 3.30% of all monetised consumption. If we allow for the expenditure in the hotels and restaurant category it is apparent that recreation and leisure involving the consumption of alcohol is a central feature of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. This was the case under the limited mode of consumption, but the form of consumption and the patterns of activity undergo significant change in the case of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

The monetary expenditure on recreation and education revealed in Table 5.22 above amounts to an average of about 9% of all expenditure. The category includes education, but we have no way of separating the education component from the National Accounts data. However, we have analysed the data of the New Zealand Household Survey for 1982 and the data indicates that the percentage of the household budget spent on education in that survey was 0.75% of total expenditure. This does not seem unreasonable when it is considered that the bulk of education expenditure is funded through the state, and does not form a significant part of direct household expenditure. If we allow say 1% for education expenditure in the total of household consumption then it means that the recreation category accounts for about 8% of total consumption.

Seabrook (1988:35) argues that one of the major implications of the long boom following the second world war has been a transition from the honour of labour to the exaltation of leisure. He describes this leisure as being based upon 'marketed time, commodified enjoyment, purchased pleasures', and which tends to destroy the leisure and recreation activities based upon reciprocal contribution and rewards. Participation is also dependent upon command over money income, which in turn means that the norms governing and regulating leisure and recreation shifts from norms based on reciprocity to norms based upon the private and individual use of objects and things.

The fact that commodified recreation and leisure involves an expenditure greater than the combined expenditure on food and clothing is an indication of the massive shift involved in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. We have just noted the importance of command over money incomes as a means of engaging in this form of consumption. We have also pointed to the distribution of incomes, and noted that the bulk of the incomes cannot incorporate the full extent of the recreation and leisure component of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. However, we argue that the exaltation of leisure leads to the desire to emulate conspicuous consumption. Seabrook (1988:25) observes that the elaboration of this process is no longer confined to the wealthy, but has become a principal motor of a social and economic system dedicated to growth and expansion. This is consistent with the relationship between production and consumption of the intensive regime of accumulation, and it has particular relevance to the sphere of recreation and leisure. There is a clear and widespread commitment to monetised recreation and leisure, the access to which is limited by income. However, monetised recreation and leisure is exalted as a desirable life style and is widely emulated,

or at least attempts are made to emulate this form of activity.

8. Generation Relations and the 'Fordist' Mode of Consumption

During the 1920s and 1930s children and young adults were regulated through the domestic division of labour and the mutual interdependence between the established and emerging generation. Two factors disrupted the basis of these generation relations and the social control during this time. The first of these concerns the mechanisation of the domestic division of labour, and the second relates to the changing nature of the monetary and material interdependence between the established and the emerging generation. The interdependence relation is linked to increased incomes of all wage-earners, including the young wage-earners. This change altered the basis of the relationship reducing the interdependence which existed in the 1920s and 1930s.

The mechanisation of domestic labour altered the basis of regulation of children within households and socialisation practices. The mechanisation of domestic labour meant that children in many households were no longer required to make more than a token contribution to the needs of the household. However, it seems that the burden of contributions as between boys and girls has fallen unevenly upon girls, who are still required to make more than a token contribution to the domestic labour of many households. This created a new basis of regulation of children, particularly for boys, where a greater emphasis fell upon the control of recreation and leisure, participation in the education system, and in the access to and use of the means of consumption. Where parents do not participate in the education and sporting and recreation of their children regulation is

compromised, and the relation between the generations is loosened. This loosening of the generation relations contributes to the fluidity of society, making it difficult for some parents to coordinate and control the activities of their children. This is the source of the formal freedom which we observed in the lives of those profiled in Chapter One. As the 'Fordist' mode of consumption develops inter-generational relations are affected by the extent to which children's and young persons' activities become dependent upon the changing and expanding means of consumption. Access to these means of consumption depends in turn upon money, and the amount of money parents can make available to their children becomes a focal point of struggle between the generations. This is a point of considerable stress and tensions within households located in the under-class, where their mode of consumption is semi-'Fordist'.

Rising wages of both the established and the emerging generation meant that the emerging generation did not have to contribute as large a percentage of their income to the consumption needs of the household. This meant that young people had surplus income beyond their immediate subsistence needs. The 'Fordist' mode of production includes a range of commodities aimed at the consumption of young adults. The rising level of wages provided the material basis for the youth culture based upon changed tastes in music, clothing and leisure activities. In the 1950s 'milk bar cowboys', 'bodgies and widgies' and 'Teddie Boys' made their appearance representing a new and daring lifestyle.

The formation of single parent and non-family households both increased after the mid-1960s, and they are a reflection of changing inter-generational relations. Non-family households refer to groups of young adults setting up households in flats.[15] The formation of single parent households is a product of changing gender

relations which is itself a result of the changing configuration of the labour force and the state's intervention with the introduction of the Domestic Purposes Benefit in 1974 (Maxwell, 1989). The greater economic independence produced by the expansion of the labour force and the welfare system provided a material basis for the changing nature of households and their mode of regulation.

The incomes of single parent households on benefits tend to be located in the lower levels of the wages/consumption relation. This income level makes participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption problematic, which in turn often compromises the regulation of children through their education and recreation and leisure activities. This situation means that many young persons' energies and activities are not regulated and controlled around a set of activities which will integrate them into the wider society. They possess a formal freedom from regulation and coordination, but their ability to participate in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption is limited and constrained because of lack of money. We consider the emergence of formal freedom within the generation relation as an important ingredient affecting the predatory potential. This formal freedom is linked to the transformation of the consumption norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.[16] Young people are exposed to the effects of the changing nature of social fluidity and generation relations, and these same forces are an important dynamic in the development of attitudes and beliefs.

One of the effects of the operation of these forces is the emergence of attitudes and beliefs among young persons which are dominated by the desire for conspicuous consumption, but where the contribution norms of society are not internalised. Alternatively these young persons are denied the opportunity to make a contribution in

terms of those norms because of the changing configuration of the labour force. In Merton's terms they accept the cultural goals of conspicuous consumption, but do not have the institutional means of satisfying those goals, or they do not internalise the contribution norms. However, even though Merton's theory is an accurate description of the relationship, it does not provide an understanding of the context in which the dilemma develops, nor does it account for the changing nature of the rupture between goals and means (Merton, 1968).

A further feature of the regulation of consumption concerns the reduced powers of constraint neighbours have upon the activities of each other under the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. We will consider the implications of this more fully in our consideration of secondary regulation in Chapter Six. Under the limited mode of consumption neighbours were able to act as a constraining influence, and we suspect that in many localities this still applies. However, in the continued process of urbanisation this becomes problematic. The relaxed constraining influence of neighbours springs from increasing fragmentation of households as a result of greater mobility arising out of the private and individual use of transport, and recreation and leisure. Neighbours do not have to confront one another to the same extent as under a more rigid mode of consumption. There are fewer neighbourhood shops and 'corner stores' and if parents are not involved in the education, recreation and leisure of their children there are few points of contact among neighbours. It is not uncommon for anonymity to characterise the social relations of neighbours in suburban New Zealand. In this situation the emerging generation are free from another constraining influence which existed under the limited mode of consumption.[17]

9. Conclusions

We will now attempt to summarise our argument of primary regulation, in relation to the predatory potential, and the exclusion tendency before proceeding to consider the question of secondary regulation. In making this summary we want to reiterate the importance we attach to the normative and moral underpinning of society based upon reciprocal contribution and rewards, which we call secondary regulation. This normative and moral underpinning is, according to Durkheim, the essential ingredient in the regulation of society. We have recast Durkheim's theory by denying the primacy of morality, and adopted instead a materialist basis of explanation. However, we believe that a moral element must be accorded weight, and that people do attempt to impose social relations of obligations and benefits based upon reciprocity upon each other. This is reflected in the moral and normative order of society. We accept also that where inequalities emerge in the contribution norms and level of rewards, there is a tendency for individuals to attempt to redress the inequality through struggle and conflict, which will often manifest itself in criminal and predatory activity.

In the period we are reviewing from the 1920s to the mid-eighties there are two clear periods, the 1920s and 1930s, and the period from 1945 to 1985. There are also sub-periods within each of the main periods. In the 1920s and 1930s the regime of accumulation experienced a major crisis, and the wage relation underwent major restructuring, which excluded a significant segment of the labour force and led to the formation of an under-class. The situation was very disruptive and many people were denied the chance to participate in the wage relation. Monetised consumption was limited in this period and the consumption styles were quite stable. Many of those excluded from the wage relation lived

squalid and sordid lives, and barely existed on the fringes of society. The potential for predatory activities was limited and predation did not bridge the gap in meeting the limited consumption norms of the time.

In the period after the mid-1930s many of the under-class were reabsorbed into the wage relation. This was helped by the mobilisation of New Zealand society for the war effort from 1939 to 1945. The expansion of the wage relation after 1945 until the mid-seventies meant that most, if not all people, could find work more or less at will. Entry to the under-class in this period was largely limited to disruptive events excluding families from a link with the wage relation. As we have seen, however, a peripheral group existed within the wage relation throughout the period from 1945 until the mid-seventies.

From 1945 to 1970 the wage relation expanded, and in this period it was relatively easier to participate in the wage relation. The major expansion in the wage relation for the 'blue collar' section of society was in control of machinery and technology, and in transformation tasks in relation to transfer technologies, which did not require high skill levels, but which depended nevertheless upon a commitment to waged work. In this period the consumption norms expanded and this translated into a struggle by most households to engage in the expanded mode of consumption. Access to the mode of consumption based upon home and vehicle ownership, the mechanisation of domestic labour and monetary recreation and leisure depended upon participation in paid work. A family or household excluded from participation in waged labour were largely excluded from the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. It is this group who form the core of the welfare recipients and who are excluded from participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

Their mode of consumption is what we describe as semi-'Fordist'.

In the period from 1970 to the mid/late eighties falling incomes and an expansion of those involved in a semi-'Fordist' mode of consumption became a significant characteristic of many households. In this period the wage relation in some sectors contracted and the participation rates in waged work declined, resulting in the growth of the under-class. This in turn led to the growth in unemployment and many households became dependent upon the social wage, a factor which greatly limits consumption capacity. We have seen from an examination of the Census data between 1971 and 1986, and as Tables 5.31 to 5.35 show, there has been a major realignment in the wages/consumption relation, but there have been winners and losers, since the total volume available for consumption has remained relatively static.

The changing nature of the wage relation and the mode of consumption has had profound implications for the social relations within households and civil society, leading to an increasing fluidity of society and to a weakening of inter-generational relations. One of the most important changes has been the emphasis upon monetary recreation and leisure, which has, inter alia, compromised socialisation into the wage relation. All of these changing ingredients of primary regulation lead us to the view that primary regulation in what we call the current period from 1970 to the mid-eighties is highly problematic, particularly of the under-class.

Notes

1. The committee set up in 1928 to examine the problem of unemployment made a series of suggestions to overcome the problem of increasing unemployment. The problem was related to the collapse of prices for export products,

and to the inability to modify the regime of accumulation to increase productivity levels.

2. We referred to the activities of the Health Department in relation to school children in Chapter Four (see note 2 in that Chapter).

3. The build-up in unemployment had been gradual but pronounced throughout the 1920s, and the government had been sufficiently concerned about the matter to set up a committee of inquiry as we have already observed. However, the state and the country were not ready for the rapid expansion in unemployment in the early part of the 1930s.

4. We can get some idea of the savagery and harshness of the conditions from Simpson's (1976) oral histories of conditions in the depression. Many wage-earners were subjected to harsh and brutal conditions, and many employers took advantage of the situation to impose severe discipline on the working class.

5. Our definition of activity power is based on the analogy of labour power. It tries to capture the potential human beings have to be active, activity power becomes concrete activity in the course of acting.

6. Integration into the domestic division of labour was an important basis for social regulation in this period, and an important feature of socialisation. We do not mean to imply that the contributions were passive and accepted. The contributions were certainly accompanied by struggle and contest. However, the struggle and contest took place within the context of the activity itself, which is the arena of regulation.

7. We deal more fully with the regulation of recreation and leisure in relation to the institutional forms which

regulated these activities, and the moral and normative order which guided and regulated these activities, in Chapter Six.

8. Phillips (1987, Chapters Five and Six) argues that in the period up to the end of the second world war in 1945, the major law and order concern had been the boozer, the loafer and itinerant persons in general. After the war and during the 1950s there was a shift in concern from the itinerant to the problem of delinquency. The novels of Crump (1961, 1962 and 1963) which dealt with good keen men and life in the backblocks were popular, but such men could be treated as mythical characters from the past who no longer constituted a threat. In Chapter Six we will consider the relationship between social regulation and the moral and normative order and will argue that there is a material relationship between the concerns of the 1920s and 1930s and the shift to concerns about juvenile delinquency in the period after the second world war.

9. In Part Three of Chapter Four we traced the changing nature of the wages/consumption relation from 1945 to 1986. This involves a significant rise between 1945 and 1961 of the wage levels, a slowing in the growth rate of incomes during the 1960s and then an increase in the 1970s and 1980s. The increase in wage rates in the 1970s and 1980s is concentrated in the state services and the finance sectors of the labour force.

10. Dependency here means dependent upon social welfare, but does not include those households where the head of the household is retired and receiving a social welfare benefit.

11. Maxwell (1989) argues on the basis of an analysis of the Census data that family structures are undergoing changes, where family sizes are smaller, child bearing is being deferred and marriage is delayed, often preceded by

de facto relationships. Divorce rates have increased and the population is aging. The pace of these changes, she argues, has intensified since the mid-1970s, and this has contributed to an increase in welfare dependency. Maxwell also points out that the 1986 Census reveals that for 'families with children' one family in five is a single-parent-family.

12. The resulting distribution does not equate with the real situation because not all incomes are consumed, and some people consume more than they earn. These differences represent the savings and borrowings of individuals. However, the distribution does indicate what the potential consumption distribution has been.

13. The growth in consumer credit is referred to in Note 19 of Chapter Three.

14. The Sale of Liquor Act 1962 has been the major statute controlling the sale of liquor, and this Act provided for a range of different licences authorising the sale of liquor. As at March 31 1965 there were 1,102 hotel or provisional hotel licences, 36 tourist house licences, 38 restaurant licences and 169 wholesale licences. As at the 30 June 1984 there were 651 hotel keepers' licences, 7 special hotel keepers licences, 4 extended hotel keepers licences, 403 tavern keepers licences, and 134 tourist house keepers licences. In addition there were 178 wholesale licences, 384 wine resellers licences, 142 wine makers licences, 550 food and entertainment licences, 1437 club licences, 31 ship licences, 5 airport licences, 13 limited wholesale licences, and 3 wine bar licences. There were also 396 chartered clubs, and a total of 967 'bring your own' (BYO) permits and 2 vineyard bar permits. It is clear that in the 19 year period there has been a substantial proliferation in recreation and leisure activities

involving the consumption of liquor, food and entertainment (New Zealand Year Book, 1966 and 1986).

15. There do not appear to be any figures on the proportion of young persons establishing independent households but both Thorns (1980) and the National Housing Commission (1988) refer to the increase in young persons, such as students and others living away from their parents' homes forming independent households.

16. The changing mode of consumption is in its turn linked to the wage relation and the regime of accumulation, as we have argued in Chapters Three and Four.

17. The formation of Neighbourhood Support Groups in recent times runs counter to these arguments to some extent. Neighbourhood Support groups have arisen as a means of protecting neighbourhoods from criminal activity, mainly property crime. They represent a response to a concrete issue where there is an interest around which the activities of neighbours is centred. Our point is that under the 'Fordist' mode of consumption there are few such interests. It may well be that under the semi-'Fordist' mode of consumption a new basis for community solidarity may emerge.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

The following Tables show the price of the notional limited and 'Fordist' consumption baskets between 1923 and 1986. The limited consumption basket is based on the 1930 Household Budget Survey and the 'Fordist' consumption basket is based on the 1981-82 Household Budget, both conducted by the Department of Statistics. Included in the Tables are the costs of the different components of the two notional consumption baskets, which makes it possible to chart the costs of the two patterns of consumption. The costs of food and clothing, which were the core of the limited consumption basket, are quite similar in both the limited and 'Fordist' baskets. The major increases between the two are in the sphere of transport, household durables and operations and recreation and leisure. In the 1920s and 1930s, as we have seen from Table 5.1, most wage-earners' incomes were below Level 1 of the wages/consumption relation.

Table 5.27 The Price of the Notional Limited Consumption Baskets (LCBs) and 'Fordist' Consumption Baskets (FCBs), 1923 to 1986.

YEAR	PRICE OF LCB	PRICE OF FCB
1923	11.90	21.87
1924	12.08	22.20
1925	12.17	22.36
1926	12.25	22.52
1927	12.17	22.36
1928	12.17	22.36
1929	12.17	22.36
1930	11.90	21.87
1931	11.02	20.25
1932	10.14	18.63
1933	9.61	17.66
1934	9.79	17.98
1935	10.14	18.63
1936	10.49	19.28
1937	11.20	20.58
1938	11.55	21.23
1939	11.99	22.04
1940	12.52	23.01
1941	13.05	23.98
1942	13.40	24.63
1943	13.75	25.28
1944	14.02	25.76
1945	14.19	26.09
1946	14.28	26.25
1947	14.72	27.06
1948	15.99	29.33
1949	16.18	29.81
1950	17.09	31.43
1951	19.08	35.00
1952	20.54	37.59
1953	21.45	39.37
1954	22.36	41.15
1955	22.90	42.13
1956	23.81	43.58
1957	24.36	44.56
1958	25.45	46.50
1959	26.35	48.28
1960	26.54	48.61
1961	27.08	49.58
1962	27.81	50.88
1963	28.35	51.85
1964	29.26	53.63
1965	30.17	55.57
1966	31.08	57.03
1967	32.90	60.44
1968	34.35	63.03
1969	35.99	66.27
1970	38.35	70.48

YEAR	PRICE OF LCB	PRICE OF FCB
1971	42.35	77.93
1972	45.44	83.28
1973	49.07	90.09
1974	54.53	100.13
1975	62.52	114.71
1976	73.07	134.16
1977	83.61	153.44
1978	93.60	171.75
1979	106.33	195.40
1980	124.68	228.78
1981	143.77	263.94
1982	167.03	306.71
1983	179.39	329.34
1984	190.30	349.25
1985	219.74	403.29
1986	248.82	456.66

Source: Household Budget Survey, 1930 and 1981-82;
Consumers' Price Index, 1923 to 1986

Table 5.28 The Price of Food, Housing and Clothing in the Notional Limited Consumption Baskets (LCBs) and 'Fordist' Consumption Baskets (FCBs), 1923 to 1986.

YEAR	FOOD		HOUSING		CLOTHING	
	LCB	FCB	LCB	FCB	LCB	FCB
1923	3.51	4.19	2.61	3.79	1.50	1.66
1924	3.56	4.25	2.64	3.84	1.52	1.69
1925	3.59	4.28	2.67	3.88	1.53	1.70
1926	3.62	4.31	2.69	3.90	1.55	1.71
1927	3.59	4.28	2.67	3.88	1.53	1.70
1928	3.59	4.28	2.67	3.88	1.53	1.70
1929	3.59	4.28	2.67	3.88	1.53	1.70
1930	3.51	4.19	2.61	3.79	1.50	1.66
1931	3.25	3.88	2.42	3.51	1.39	1.54
1932	2.99	3.57	2.22	3.23	1.28	1.42
1933	2.84	3.38	2.11	3.06	1.21	1.34
1934	2.89	3.44	2.15	3.12	1.23	1.37
1935	2.99	3.57	2.22	3.23	1.28	1.42
1936	3.10	3.69	2.30	3.34	1.32	1.46
1937	3.30	3.94	2.45	3.57	1.41	1.56
1938	3.41	4.06	2.54	3.68	1.46	1.61
1939	3.54	4.22	2.63	3.82	1.51	1.67
1940	3.70	4.41	2.74	3.99	1.58	1.75
1941	3.85	4.59	2.86	4.16	1.65	1.82
1942	3.96	4.72	2.93	4.27	1.69	1.87
1943	4.06	4.84	3.02	4.38	1.73	1.92
1944	4.14	4.93	3.07	4.47	1.77	1.96
1945	4.19	5.00	3.12	4.53	1.79	1.98
1946	4.22	5.03	3.13	4.55	1.80	1.99
1947	4.35	5.18	3.22	4.69	1.86	2.06
1948	4.72	5.62	3.51	5.08	2.02	2.23
1949	4.77	5.71	3.55	5.17	2.04	2.26
1950	5.04	6.02	3.75	5.45	2.15	2.39
1951	5.63	6.70	4.19	6.07	2.41	2.66
1952	6.06	7.20	4.50	6.52	2.59	2.86
1953	6.33	7.54	4.70	6.83	2.70	2.99
1954	6.60	7.88	4.91	7.14	2.82	3.13
1955	6.76	8.07	5.02	7.31	2.89	3.20
1956	7.03	8.35	5.22	7.55	3.00	3.31
1957	7.19	8.53	5.34	7.72	3.07	3.38
1958	7.51	8.90	5.58	8.07	3.21	3.53
1959	7.78	9.25	5.78	8.37	3.32	3.67
1960	7.83	9.31	5.81	8.43	3.35	3.69
1961	7.99	9.49	5.94	8.59	3.41	3.77
1962	8.21	9.74	6.10	8.82	3.51	3.86
1963	8.37	9.93	6.22	9.00	3.58	3.94
1964	8.64	10.27	6.42	9.30	3.69	4.07
1965	8.90	10.64	6.61	9.63	3.80	4.22
1966	9.17	10.92	6.82	9.89	3.92	4.33
1967	9.71	11.57	7.21	10.48	4.15	4.59
1968	10.14	12.07	7.53	10.93	4.33	4.79

YEAR	FOOD		HOUSING		CLOTHING	
	LCB	FCB	LCB	FCB	LCB	FCB
1969	10.62	12.69	7.89	11.49	4.54	5.03
1970	11.32	13.50	8.41	12.22	4.84	5.35
1971	12.50	14.92	9.29	13.51	5.34	5.92
1972	13.41	15.95	9.97	14.44	5.73	6.33
1973	14.49	17.25	10.77	15.62	6.19	6.84
1974	16.09	19.17	11.96	17.37	6.88	7.61
1975	18.46	21.97	13.71	19.89	7.88	8.71
1976	21.57	25.69	16.02	23.27	9.21	10.19
1977	24.68	29.38	18.33	26.61	10.54	11.66
1978	27.63	32.89	20.53	29.78	11.80	13.05
1979	31.38	37.42	23.31	33.88	13.41	14.84
1980	36.80	43.81	27.35	39.67	15.72	17.38
1981	42.44	50.54	31.52	45.77	18.13	20.05
1982	49.30	58.73	36.43	53.23	21.06	23.30
1983	52.95	63.05	39.34	57.09	22.62	25.01
1984	56.17	66.88	41.73	60.56	23.99	26.53
1985	64.86	77.23	48.19	69.93	27.71	30.64
1986	73.45	87.45	54.56	79.18	31.37	34.69

Source: Household Budget Survey, 1930 and 1981-82;
Consumers' Price Index, 1923 to 1986

Table 5.29 The Price of Household Durables, Household Operations and Transport in the Notional Limited Consumption Baskets (LCBs) and 'Fordist' Consumption Baskets (FCBs), 1923 to 1986.

	HOUSEHOLD DURABLES		HOUSEHOLD OPERATIONS		TRANSPORT	
YEAR	LCB	FCB	LCB	FCB	LCB	FCB
1923	0.26	1.93	1.75	3.28	0.41	4.34
1924	0.26	1.96	1.78	3.32	0.42	4.40
1925	0.27	1.98	1.79	3.35	0.42	4.43
1926	0.27	1.99	1.80	3.37	0.42	4.47
1927	0.27	1.98	1.79	3.35	0.42	4.43
1928	0.27	1.98	1.79	3.35	0.42	4.43
1929	0.27	1.98	1.79	3.35	0.42	4.43
1930	0.26	1.93	1.75	3.28	0.41	4.34
1931	0.24	1.79	1.62	3.03	0.38	4.02
1932	0.22	1.65	1.49	2.79	0.35	3.69
1933	0.21	1.56	1.41	2.64	0.33	3.50
1934	0.21	1.59	1.44	2.69	0.34	3.57
1935	0.22	1.65	1.49	2.79	0.35	3.69
1936	0.23	1.70	1.54	2.89	0.36	3.82
1937	0.24	1.82	1.65	3.08	0.39	4.08
1938	0.25	1.88	1.70	3.18	0.40	4.21
1939	0.26	1.95	1.76	3.30	0.41	4.37
1940	0.27	2.03	1.84	3.45	0.43	4.56
1941	0.28	2.12	1.92	3.59	0.45	4.75
1942	0.29	2.18	1.97	3.69	0.46	4.88
1943	0.30	2.23	2.02	3.79	0.48	5.01
1944	0.31	2.28	2.06	3.86	0.48	5.11
1945	0.31	2.30	2.09	3.91	0.49	5.17
1946	0.31	2.32	2.10	3.93	0.49	5.20
1947	0.32	2.39	2.17	4.05	0.51	5.36
1948	0.35	2.59	2.35	4.39	0.55	5.81
1949	0.35	2.63	2.38	4.46	0.56	5.91
1950	0.37	2.78	2.51	4.71	0.59	6.23
1951	0.42	3.09	2.81	5.24	0.66	6.94
1952	0.45	2.86	3.02	5.63	0.71	7.45
1953	0.47	2.99	3.15	5.90	0.74	7.81
1954	0.49	3.13	3.29	6.16	0.77	8.16
1955	0.50	3.20	3.37	6.31	0.79	8.35
1956	0.52	3.31	3.50	6.53	0.82	8.64
1957	0.53	3.38	3.58	6.67	0.84	8.83
1958	0.55	4.11	3.74	6.96	0.88	9.22
1959	0.57	4.27	3.88	7.23	0.91	9.57
1960	0.58	4.29	3.90	7.28	0.92	9.64
1961	0.59	4.38	3.98	7.42	0.94	9.83
1962	0.61	4.49	4.09	7.62	0.96	10.09
1963	0.62	4.58	4.17	7.76	0.98	10.28
1964	0.64	4.74	4.30	8.03	1.01	10.63
1965	0.66	4.91	4.44	8.32	1.04	11.02
1966	0.68	5.04	4.57	8.54	1.08	11.31

	HOUSEHOLD DURABLES		HOUSEHOLD OPERATIONS		TRANSPORT	
YEAR	LCB	FCB	LCB	FCB	LCB	FCB
1967	0.72	5.35	4.84	9.05	1.14	11.98
1968	0.75	5.57	5.05	9.44	1.19	12.50
1969	0.78	5.85	5.29	9.92	1.25	13.14
1970	0.84	6.23	5.64	10.55	1.33	13.97
1971	0.92	6.88	6.23	11.67	1.47	15.45
1972	0.99	7.36	6.68	12.47	1.57	16.51
1973	1.07	7.96	7.22	13.49	1.70	17.86
1974	1.19	8.85	8.02	14.99	1.89	19.85
1975	1.36	10.13	9.20	17.18	2.16	22.74
1976	1.59	11.85	10.75	20.09	2.53	26.60
1977	1.82	13.55	12.30	22.98	2.89	30.42
1978	2.04	15.17	13.77	25.72	3.24	34.05
1979	2.32	17.26	15.64	29.26	3.68	38.74
1980	2.72	20.21	18.34	34.26	4.31	45.36
1981	3.13	23.32	21.15	39.53	4.97	52.33
1982	3.64	27.09	24.57	45.93	5.78	60.81
1983	3.91	29.08	26.39	49.30	6.21	65.28
1984	4.15	30.85	27.99	52.30	6.58	69.25
1985	4.79	35.63	32.32	60.39	7.60	79.96
1986	5.42	40.34	36.60	68.39	8.61	90.54

Source: Household Budget Survey, 1930 and 1981-82;
Consumers' Price Index, 1923 to 1986

Table 5.30 The Price of Recreation/Leisure and Savings in the Notional Limited Consumption Baskets (LCBs) and 'Fordist' Consumption Baskets (FCBs), 1923 to 1986.

	RECREATION/LEISURE		SAVINGS	
YEAR	LCB	FCB	LCB	FCB
1923	0.88	2.49	0.98	0.19
1924	0.89	2.53	0.99	0.20
1925	0.90	2.55	1.00	0.20
1926	0.91	2.57	1.00	0.20
1927	0.90	2.55	1.00	0.20
1928	0.90	2.55	1.00	0.20
1929	0.90	2.55	1.00	0.20
1930	0.88	2.49	0.98	0.19
1931	0.82	2.31	0.90	0.18
1932	0.75	2.12	0.83	0.16
1933	0.71	2.01	0.79	0.16
1934	0.72	2.05	0.80	0.16
1935	0.75	2.12	0.83	0.16
1936	0.78	2.20	0.86	0.17
1937	0.83	2.34	0.92	0.18
1938	0.85	2.42	0.95	0.19
1939	0.89	2.51	0.98	0.19
1940	0.93	2.62	1.03	0.20
1941	0.97	2.73	1.07	0.21
1942	0.99	2.81	1.10	0.22
1943	1.02	2.88	1.13	0.22
1944	1.04	2.94	1.15	0.23
1945	1.05	2.97	1.16	0.23
1946	1.06	2.99	1.17	0.23
1947	1.09	3.08	1.21	0.24
1948	1.18	3.34	1.31	0.26
1949	1.20	3.40	1.33	0.26
1950	1.26	3.58	1.40	0.28
1951	1.41	3.99	1.56	0.31
1952	1.52	4.28	1.68	0.33
1953	1.59	4.49	1.76	0.35
1954	1.65	4.69	1.83	0.36
1955	1.69	4.80	1.88	0.37
1956	1.76	4.97	1.95	0.38
1957	1.80	5.08	2.00	0.39
1958	1.88	5.30	2.09	0.41
1959	1.95	5.50	2.16	0.43
1960	1.96	5.54	2.18	0.43
1961	2.00	5.65	2.22	0.44
1962	2.06	5.80	2.28	0.45
1963	2.10	5.91	2.32	0.46
1964	2.17	6.11	2.40	0.47
1965	2.23	6.33	2.47	0.49
1966	2.30	6.50	2.55	0.50
1967	2.43	6.89	2.70	0.53

	RECREATION/LEISURE		SAVINGS	
YEAR	LCB	FCB	LCB	FCB
1968	2.54	7.18	2.82	0.56
1969	2.66	7.55	2.95	0.59
1970	2.84	8.03	3.14	0.62
1971	3.13	8.88	3.47	0.69
1972	3.36	9.49	3.73	0.74
1973	3.63	10.27	4.02	0.80
1974	4.03	11.41	4.47	0.88
1975	4.63	13.07	5.13	1.01
1976	5.41	15.29	5.99	1.18
1977	6.19	17.48	6.86	1.35
1978	6.93	19.57	7.67	1.52
1979	7.87	22.27	8.72	1.73
1980	9.23	26.07	10.22	2.02
1981	10.64	30.08	11.79	2.33
1982	12.36	34.95	13.70	2.71
1983	13.27	37.52	14.71	2.91
1984	14.08	39.80	15.60	3.08
1985	16.26	45.96	18.02	3.56
1986	18.41	52.04	20.40	4.03

Source: Household Budget Survey, 1930 and 1981-82; Consumers' Price Index 1923 to 1986

APPENDIX II

THE WAGES CONSUMPTION RELATION, 1945 TO 1986

The following Tables are based on the Census data on income distribution between 1945 and 1986. We have assumed a uniform rate of growth and change in both the case of the numbers located in each sector and in the income levels of each of those sectors between Census dates. This may or may not be justified, and the Tables are suggestive only of changes which have taken place in the inter-census periods. The 'Not Specified' category of the Census has been deleted from these Tables, which means that the tables might not balance with the Census data. Rounding errors that result from compilation of Census data also mean our figures may not exactly equate with the Census data. However, the discrepancies involved are not significant. The Tables indicate the general shift in the levels of income, and highlight the distribution of incomes in the different sectors of the regime of accumulation. The relative growth of the service class is reflected in the higher number of wage-earners in state services relative to other sectors. However, the growth in all sectors is by no means uniform and steady. Department 1 (defined below) and the industrial sectors of Department 2 (defined below) have a greater concentration of incomes in Level 2. Wage-earners in the wholesale/retail and finance sectors also tend to be concentrated in Level 2, but there are proportionately more persons in Level 3 than in any of the industrial sectors of Department 1 or 2.

Department 1 refers to those sectors producing intermediate goods and production goods, Department 2 refers to those sectors producing consumption goods, Department 3 refers to transport and communication, and Department 4 refers to state services.

Table 5.31 Distribution of the Total Labour Force Relative to the Wages/Consumption Relation, 1945 to 1986

YEAR	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3	TOTAL
1945	396,319	166,122	44,799	607,240
1946	384,332	191,503	49,984	625,820
1947	372,346	216,884	55,169	644,399
1948	360,359	242,266	60,354	662,979
1949	348,373	267,647	65,539	681,559
1950	336,386	293,028	70,724	700,139
1951	324,400	318,409	75,910	718,718
1952	312,413	343,790	81,095	737,298
1953	300,427	369,171	86,280	755,878
1954	288,440	394,553	91,465	774,458
1955	276,454	419,934	96,650	793,037
1956	264,467	445,315	101,835	811,617
1957	252,559	453,115	120,636	826,310
1958	240,652	460,915	139,437	841,003
1959	228,744	468,714	158,238	855,697
1960	216,837	476,514	177,039	870,390
1961	204,929	484,314	195,840	885,083
1962	222,457	482,307	206,195	910,959
1963	239,985	480,299	216,551	936,835
1964	257,513	478,292	226,906	962,711
1965	275,041	476,284	237,262	988,587
1966	292,569	474,277	247,617	1,014,463
1967	313,272	475,519	242,477	1,031,268
1968	333,975	476,761	237,337	1,048,073
1969	354,678	478,003	232,198	1,064,879
1970	375,381	479,245	227,058	1,081,684
1971	396,084	480,487	221,918	1,098,489
1972	368,648	524,342	235,697	1,128,686
1973	341,212	568,196	249,475	1,158,884
1974	313,777	612,051	263,254	1,189,081
1975	286,341	655,905	277,032	1,219,279
1976	258,905	699,760	290,811	1,249,476
1977	269,432	656,181	323,257	1,248,870
1978	279,959	612,601	355,703	1,248,263
1979	290,487	569,022	388,148	1,247,657
1980	301,014	525,442	420,594	1,247,050
1981	311,541	481,863	453,040	1,246,444
1982	297,385	503,038	446,987	1,247,410
1983	283,228	524,213	440,934	1,248,376
1984	269,072	545,389	434,881	1,249,341
1985	254,915	566,564	428,828	1,250,307
1986	240,759	587,739	422,775	1,251,273

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

Table 5.32 The Distribution of Intermediate Goods Production, Construction, and Metals and Machinery Sectors of the Labour Force Relative to the Wages/Consumption Relation, 1945 to 1986.

YEAR	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3
1945	49,672	37,415	2,584
1946	49,000	46,488	3,792
1947	48,328	55,562	5,000
1948	47,656	64,635	6,208
1949	46,984	73,709	7,416
1950	46,312	82,782	8,624
1951	45,641	91,856	9,833
1952	44,969	100,929	11,041
1953	44,297	110,003	12,249
1954	43,625	119,076	13,457
1955	42,953	128,150	14,665
1956	42,281	137,223	15,873
1957	39,762	138,602	21,218
1958	37,243	139,982	26,563
1959	34,724	141,361	31,909
1960	32,205	142,741	37,254
1961	29,686	144,120	42,599
1962	33,291	145,243	46,352
1963	36,896	146,365	50,106
1964	40,500	147,488	53,859
1965	44,105	148,610	57,613
1966	47,710	149,733	61,366
1967	50,422	147,460	59,679
1968	53,134	145,186	57,993
1969	55,845	142,913	56,306
1970	58,557	140,639	54,620
1971	61,269	138,366	52,933
1972	56,313	146,572	56,410
1973	51,356	154,778	59,887
1974	46,400	162,984	63,364
1975	41,443	171,190	66,841
1976	36,487	179,396	70,318
1977	38,916	168,857	77,417
1978	41,345	158,318	84,516
1979	43,775	147,780	91,616
1980	46,204	137,241	98,715
1981	48,633	126,702	105,814
1982	49,122	141,103	112,207
1983	49,611	155,503	118,600
1984	50,100	169,904	124,992
1985	50,589	184,304	131,385
1986	51,078	198,705	137,778

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

Table 5.33 The Distribution of Agriculture, Food, Clothing, Textiles, Household Durables, Household Operations, Recreation/Leisure, Wholesale/Retail and Finance Sectors of the Labour Force Relative to the Wages/Consumption Relation, 1945 to 1986.

YEAR	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3
1945	91,545	40,803	7,499
1946	97,211	54,629	12,926
1947	102,877	68,456	18,353
1948	108,543	82,282	23,781
1949	114,209	96,109	29,208
1950	119,875	109,935	34,635
1951	125,542	123,762	40,062
1952	131,208	137,588	45,489
1953	136,874	151,415	50,916
1954	142,540	165,241	56,344
1955	148,206	179,068	61,771
1956	153,872	192,894	67,198
1957	147,135	197,872	74,817
1958	140,398	202,850	82,436
1959	133,660	207,828	90,056
1960	126,923	212,806	97,675
1961	120,186	217,784	105,294
1962	130,280	214,245	108,482
1963	140,374	210,707	111,670
1964	150,467	207,168	114,857
1965	160,561	203,630	118,045
1966	170,655	200,091	121,233
1967	185,438	203,584	118,901
1968	200,222	207,077	116,569
1969	215,005	210,570	114,238
1970	229,789	214,063	111,906
1971	244,572	217,556	109,574
1972	227,701	241,543	112,870
1973	210,829	265,530	116,166
1974	193,958	289,517	119,462
1975	177,086	313,504	122,758
1976	160,215	337,491	126,054
1977	163,367	316,276	137,434
1978	166,519	295,061	148,813
1979	169,670	273,847	160,193
1980	172,822	252,632	171,572
1981	175,974	231,417	182,952
1982	178,612	242,944	172,540
1983	181,250	254,471	162,127
1984	183,889	265,999	151,715
1985	186,527	277,526	141,302
1986	189,165	289,053	130,890

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

Table 5.34 The Distribution of Transport and Communications Sectors of the Labour Force Relative to the Wages/Consumption Relation, 1945 to 1986.

	TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS		
YEAR	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3
1945	20,892	30,955	1,533
1946	20,496	33,596	1,965
1947	20,099	36,237	2,397
1948	19,703	38,878	2,828
1949	19,307	41,519	3,260
1950	18,911	44,160	3,692
1951	18,514	46,802	4,124
1952	18,118	49,443	4,556
1953	17,722	52,084	4,988
1954	17,326	54,725	5,419
1955	16,929	57,366	5,851
1956	16,533	60,007	6,283
1957	15,496	59,504	8,723
1958	14,459	59,001	11,163
1959	13,421	58,498	13,602
1960	12,384	57,995	16,042
1961	11,347	57,492	18,482
1962	12,004	57,697	19,417
1963	12,662	57,902	20,353
1964	13,319	58,107	21,288
1965	13,977	58,312	22,224
1966	14,634	58,517	23,159
1967	15,726	58,268	22,941
1968	16,817	58,019	22,723
1969	17,909	57,771	22,504
1970	19,000	57,522	22,286
1971	20,092	57,273	22,068
1972	18,031	59,377	23,903
1973	15,970	61,480	25,739
1974	13,908	63,584	27,574
1975	11,847	65,687	29,410
1976	9,786	67,791	31,245
1977	9,943	61,981	35,539
1978	10,099	56,171	39,833
1979	10,256	50,362	44,128
1980	10,412	44,552	48,422
1981	10,569	38,742	52,716
1982	10,295	40,640	50,984
1983	10,022	42,538	49,252
1984	9,748	44,435	47,519
1985	9,475	46,333	45,787
1986	9,201	48,231	44,055

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

Table 5.35 The Distribution of State Services Sector of the Labour Force Relative to the Wages/Consumption Relation, 1945 to 1986.

	STATE SERVICES		
YEAR	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3
1945	34,690	18,415	3,050
1946	36,008	21,664	3,894
1947	37,326	24,913	4,737
1948	38,645	28,163	5,581
1949	39,963	31,412	6,425
1950	41,281	34,661	7,268
1951	42,599	37,910	8,112
1952	43,917	41,159	8,955
1953	45,235	44,408	9,799
1954	46,554	47,658	10,643
1955	47,872	50,907	11,486
1956	49,190	54,156	12,330
1957	47,728	56,103	15,722
1958	46,266	58,050	19,114
1959	44,804	59,997	22,505
1960	43,342	61,944	25,897
1961	41,880	63,891	29,289
1962	44,620	64,041	31,746
1963	47,360	64,191	34,203
1964	50,099	64,341	36,660
1965	52,839	64,491	39,117
1966	55,579	64,641	41,574
1967	56,701	64,764	40,631
1968	57,823	64,887	39,687
1969	58,946	65,009	38,744
1970	60,068	65,132	37,800
1971	61,190	65,255	36,857
1972	56,040	73,225	41,696
1973	50,889	81,196	46,534
1974	45,739	89,166	51,373
1975	40,588	97,137	56,211
1976	35,438	105,107	61,050
1977	38,202	99,927	70,494
1978	40,967	94,747	79,938
1979	43,731	89,566	89,382
1980	46,496	84,386	98,826
1981	49,260	79,206	108,270
1982	45,830	81,517	107,192
1983	42,401	83,827	106,114
1984	38,971	86,138	105,035
1985	35,542	88,448	103,957
1986	32,112	90,759	102,879

Source: New Zealand Census, 1945 to 1986

CHAPTER SIX

SECONDARY REGULATION, SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND STRATEGIC CONDUCT

1. Introduction

Secondary regulation is concerned with the normative and moral order which infuses all phases of social life, in the sense that we all attempt to impose certain standards of conduct upon each other. This attempt to infuse all social activities with a moral regulation was, according to Durkheim (1982), the source of social institutions, and for this reason morality had priority over the pursuit of enlightened self-interest, an idea stemming from Adam Smith. Enlightened self interest was regarded as the core ingredient and source of social relations under classical political economy (Clarke, 1982). We have argued that although the primacy which Durkheim accorded morality was wrong we must not discard morality, treating it, however, as a fundamental ingredient of social regulation. We argue that the bases of social regulation are material activities, and we have made production and consumption, and the relationship between them via the wage relation, the central features of our theory of social regulation. We have argued that the central content of morality which Durkheim referred to was a morality relating to the contributions individuals make to society and the rewards they receive for making those contributions. We are concerned, therefore, with the moral and normative order concerning contributions and rewards which are shaped by the forces of primary regulation. Primary regulation shapes the contents of the morality and the institutional forms in which the morality is mediated. Our focus in this Chapter will be twofold. There will be, firstly, a consideration of the content of the morality and how we might understand it

in terms of primary regulation, and secondly, the institutional forms which mediate the morality. The moral and normative order manifests itself in a moral code which guides activity and which sets the moral climate in which individuals plan and organise their strategic conduct. The strategies which individuals adopt in the face of primary and secondary regulatory forces is what we mean by strategic conduct, and this will be the second focus of the Chapter, which will lead us into a consideration of the imprisonment-offending cycle in Chapter Seven.

Participation in waged work and in the mode of consumption both require contributions from participants, and this participation involves rewards and benefits. The dimension of the moral and normative order we are concerned with involves a code of contributions and rewards covering the whole gambit of the activity cycle. At the most abstract and general level the norms relating to contributions and rewards are that they should be reciprocal and balanced. The key point is that interaction oscillates around participants benefitting to the extent they contribute. This is for us the key factor around which social activities are regulated, and it is a key feature of the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency. Our concern is with the way in which this general abstract principle is translated into social activities and the institutions which regulate these activities.

We have seen how the production norms, which are the concrete form the contribution norms take, were diverse during the 1920s and 1985. We have also seen that consumption norms, which are the concrete expression of the reward norms, changed in the same period. In the 1920s the limited mode of consumption governed the consumption norms at this time, although many households did not reach the standards of the limited mode of

consumption. In the period after 1945, consumption norms changed, with a general movement to a semi-'Fordist' and later a 'Fordist' mode of consumption. In the current period we have a polarisation around a post-'Fordist' and a semi-'Fordist' modes of consumption. The moral and normative order has moved within these broad changes to the wage relation and the modes of consumption, which we have dealt with in Chapters Four and Five.

In this Chapter we will consider the nature of the moral and normative order in the 1920s and 1930s, and the institutional forms which mediated that order. We will then consider the changes which the moral and normative order underwent as a result of the advent of 'Fordism', and the implications of these changes for the predatory potential and exclusion tendency. We will then deal with the way in which Maori people have been affected by the changes in primary regulation, and then consider the problem of secondary regulation as it affects Maori people, and how this impacts upon the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency.

Our argument is that in the 1920s and the 1930s it is possible to identify at least two contradictory elements in the content of the moral order, one which revealed a mean, oppressive spirit, which Chapman called puritanism, and secondly, a liberal humanism (Chapman, 1953). This puritanism itself had two strands. In one strand it emphasised the demand to contribute to social needs, and condemned those who failed to contribute. This morality was prepared to make some minor concessions to the deserving poor. In its second variant puritanism condemned any attempt of daring to be different, which imposed an oppressive sameness about society, identified by Pearson (1952) in his essay *Fretful Sleepers*. The second element of the moral and normative order was a liberal humanism which was, according to Chapman, less pervasive and influential than is often supposed.

These moral and normative orders were mediated and enforced through a series of institutional forms, in addition to the wage relation and households which we have considered in Chapters Four and Five. The institutional forms which we will consider in addition to the wage relation and households will be neighbourhoods, pubs and chartered clubs, churches and religious practices, sports clubs, and other recreation and leisure clubs such as music and dramatic societies. In addition to the wage relation and households, the health and education systems were important bearers of the moral and normative order.

The changed nature of secondary regulation which emerged from 1945 and which became dominant in the period between 1970 and 1985 has four strands, which we will enlarge upon as we proceed through the Chapter:

1. The increasing fluidity of society which we dealt with in Chapter Five weakened the institutional forms which regulated consumption activities in the pre-'Fordist' era.

2. In the period from at least 1970 the puritan moral order, which emphasised the honour of work and condemned those who failed, for whatever reason, to participate in the wage relation, has been weakened and compromised by a normative order based upon consumerism, with the emergence of a service class able to engage in overconsumption. The service class becomes the class who mediates this changed moral and normative order. This changed dominant moral order, and the aspirations which it gives rise to, are adopted by the predatory under-class. We define and deal more fully with the emergence of the service class later in this Chapter.

3. The predatory under-class are excluded from participation in waged work, and would otherwise be

confined to a semi-'Fordist' mode of consumption, except for the alternative provided by the 'underground economy'.

4. The emergence of an 'underground economy' provides the predatory under-class with a means of participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, but the reproduction of the predatory social relations are tenuous, savage, brutal and dangerous. The emergence of an 'underground economy', based upon the production, distribution and consumption of drugs raises the question of how to account for the demand for drugs, and the social relations of the production, distribution and consumption of drugs. The changing experience of space and time, brought about by the fluidity of social life dealt with in Chapter Five, is the main factor accounting for the shift in the moral and normative order, justifying and legitimating the demand for illicit drugs. We will deal in more detail with the social relation of drug production and consumption in Chapter Seven.

2. Secondary Regulation, Integration and Strategic Conduct in the 1920s and 1930s

a. Introduction

We will consider first the broad structural features of New Zealand society, and based upon the Census data we will identify the industrial sectors of the labour force and the status of those participating in the labour force in terms of whether they were employers, own-account operators, wage-earners, unemployed, or relatives assisting. These categories are those adopted in the Census, and they provide a reasonable guide as to the class structure of New Zealand society. The structure of the labour force defines the manner in which the

contribution and reward norms are discharged, and an analysis of the nature of the labour force is the best guide to specifying the normative order relating to the contribution norms. We understand the puritan moral and normative order as part of the regulatory forces underpinning the forces of primary regulation. We will next consider the general nature of household formations and their relationship to neighbourhoods. We will consider the relationship of households to civil society through a consideration of the institutional forms which regulated recreation and leisure activities, such as pubs, sports and other recreation clubs, religious denominations, and the education and health systems. In our analysis of the various institutional forms we will try and identify the forces impacting upon them and the issues which were involved in their reproduction. In this way we will attempt to ascertain the material basis for the puritan moral and normative order which we will argue was the dominant order at this time.

Table 6.1 shows that 24.73% of the labour force were employers, own-account operators or relatives assisting. In this period the agricultural sector was the dominant one with 24.85% of the labour force, and where 41.64% of the agriculture sector were wage-earners. The services sector accounted for 10.32% of the labour force, being dominated by female domestic service.

The 1920s and 1930s were a period of depressed economic trading conditions, and this developed into the serious collapse of the economy in the early part of the 1930s. In this period the wage levels for the overwhelming majority of wage-earners were below the level required to meet the monetary costs of the limited consumption basket. This meant that most households required more than one income, and in 1926 there was an average of

Table 6.1 Occupation Status and Sectors of the Labour Force, and Percentage in Each Category 1928.

(E = Employers; O = Own-Account Operators; W = Wage-Earners; UE = Unemployed; RA = Relatives Assisting; NS = Not Specified)

NUMBERS	E	O	W	UE	RA	NS	TOTAL
INTERMEDIATE GOODS	523	1,088	15,089	814	12	21	17,569
CONSTRUCTION	5,277	4,756	44,681	2,847	229	268	56,981
METALS/MACHINERY	1,621	1,429	18,335	1,188	31	37	22,613
AGRICULTURE	24,868	39,803	56,682	2,679	9,892	369	136,134
FOOD	1,110	372	17,604	693	69	26	19,854
TEXTILES	1,603	3,315	21,026	868	43	97	26,903
H/HOLD DUR/OPS	998	828	10,218	343	18	23	12,299
RECREATION	354	816	3,266	190	21	22	4,651
WHOLE/RETAIL/FIN	9,649	10,325	76,874	3,036	614	239	101,636
SERVICES	3,214	2,957	50,059	1,442	435	1,863	56,536
TRANS/COMM	1,671	3,442	47,383	1,736	95	65	54,377
STATE SERVICES	1,720	2,309	33,912	489	13	266	38,344
TOTAL	52,607	71,442	395,131	16,324	11,471	3,297	547,897
PERCENTAGE							
INTERMEDIATE GOODS	0.10	0.20	2.75	0.15	0.00	0.00	3.21
CONSTRUCTION	0.96	0.87	8.15	0.52	0.04	0.05	10.40
METALS/MACHINERY	0.30	0.26	3.35	0.22	0.01	0.01	4.13
AGRICULTURE	4.54	7.26	10.35	0.49	1.81	0.07	24.85
FOOD	0.20	0.07	3.21	0.13	0.01	0.00	3.62
TEXTILES	0.29	0.61	3.84	0.16	0.01	0.02	4.91
H/HOLD DUR/OPS	0.18	0.15	1.86	0.06	0.00	0.00	2.24
RECREATION	0.06	0.15	0.60	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.85
WHOLE/RETAIL/FIN	1.76	1.88	14.03	0.55	0.11	0.04	18.55
SERVICES	0.59	0.54	9.14	0.26	0.08	0.34	10.32
TRANS/COMM	0.30	0.63	8.65	0.32	0.02	0.01	9.92
STATE SERVICES	0.31	0.42	6.19	0.09	0.00	0.05	7.00
TOTAL	9.60	13.04	72.12	2.98	2.09	0.60	100.00

Source: New Zealand Census 1921, 1926 and 1936

2.02 wage-earners for each household (New Zealand Census, 1926). These additional wage-earners were either boarders or adolescent or adult children who had joined the labour force. These persons were required to contribute to the monetary consumption of the household. Moreover, as we saw in Chapter Five, all household members were required to make some contribution to the domestic labour of the household and they were socialised to make this contribution.

b. The Puritan Moral Order

This overall structure is the source of the two strands of the puritan moral order. The condemnation of loafers, larrikans and boozers, which was expressed in everyday interaction, is a clear reflection of the disapproval expressed against those who do not pull their weight.[2] We recall from our study of the wage relation in Chapter Four that the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process was undeveloped but undergoing changes. The agriculture sector was the largest sector, dominated by small farmers many of whom were dependent upon farm labour. This sector was also the dominant income group, and they condemned loafers and outsiders. The smaller, but none the less important group of small traders in the wholesale and retail sectors reinforced this moral and normative order.

Households were dependent upon the emerging generation to contribute to the monetary consumption and the domestic labour needs of the household. This is the source of the moral and normative order demanding conformity and compliance. In this climate there is not the opportunity for difference and individuality. The overall imperatives of the household demanded that each member make a contribution, and it is in this situation that compliance to the overall demands of the household dominate. These two factors forced a moral discipline

between the generations which expressed itself in tensions and stresses which the emerging generation were powerless to resist. This theme is strong in Davin's work (1945, 1947, and 1949) and as Pearson (1952) observes it had a damaging effect upon the emotional life of New Zealand society.

During the depression of the 1930s many households were affected by unemployment and hardship, and many had to adopt non-monetary strategies to live. These conditions also demanded conformity and a collective approach to life in which it would have been difficult, even if not impossible, to be distinctive or different. The survival of households and communities would have depended upon a collective cohesion where there would have been little room for individuality. Phillips (1987:227) quotes Somerset (1938) to the effect that the depression consolidated family life.

c. The Liberal Humanist Order

Even though the puritan moral and normative order was dominant it is also possible to identify a liberal humanist tradition which articulated a competing morality, demanding inter alia that the hardships of life be socialised through the state. These were themes which were strongly advocated by the trade union leaders in the National Industrial Conference in 1928. These leaders sought extension to the accident compensation provisions, and to the introduction of unemployment benefits. These same leaders also advocated the introduction of new technology which would increase productivity and thereby enhance the living standards of ordinary wage-earners. Indeed ideas which were progressive and/or consistent with the 'Fordist' organisation of life were expressed by the union leaders and not the employers.

The level of welfare support in the 1920s was limited to the deserving poor, as there was no provision for unemployment assistance, and the degree of accident compensation was restricted. The National Development Conference spent a good deal of time debating and considering these issues and made a series of recommendations, which were not implemented until after the depression, and election of the first Labour Government.[3]

The dominant normative and moral order demanded that all able-bodied persons make a contribution to the needs of society, and the limited nature of the welfare provisions meant that people who did not participate in waged work were seriously disadvantaged. Consumption standards were based upon the degree of income available to a household and predatory activities were condemned. It seems that the normative order considered that households with limited incomes were in this situation through their own fault, hence limited assistance was provided by society.

There were two groups within an under-class who were not committed to this dominant moral and normative order. One group was drawn from the 45,784 impoverished households which we identified in Chapter Five. The existence of these impoverished households is explained partly in terms of the exclusion forces operating at the time, and partly as the result of an exclusion experience which aggravates the exclusion tendency. The disruptive experience impedes participation in waged work. The separation or desertion of the male wage-earner, or his death or illness are the main exclusionary events we have in mind. We have argued already that in a capitalist society the link between production and consumption is through participation in waged work, and when this is disrupted the household's capacity to consume is seriously impeded. It is this structural feature which regulates the exclusion tendency of capitalist societies.

In addition to the impoverished households which we have identified there is a second component of the under-class, a group of itinerant labouring men who moved around the country in search of work. These men made up the bulk of the unemployed in the 1930s as we have indicated (see Tables 5.10 and 5.11). These men were the remnants of a labour process which depended upon casual labourers, but the labour of these men was becoming obsolete, or at least less necessary, in view of the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process in land-based food and fibre production. Olssen (1984) and Fairbairn (1989)[4] have also recognised the existence of this group arguing they were necessary for the large amount of labouring work required in many sectors of the labour force. We showed in Chapter Four that in the 1920s and 1930s, the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process was the main factor marginalising this group.

The Ex-Soldiers Commission, which was charged to inquire into the conditions of some ex-soldiers, clearly admit the precariousness of casual labouring work (AJHR H39 1930). They identified and contrasted two periods, the unreal (prosperity) and the real (depressed economic conditions). The unreal conditions were the prosperous times which were experienced after the end of the war in 1918 until the early 1920s. The real conditions by contrast were the hardships which intensified during the 1920s. The Commission also articulated an important element in the dominant ideology that individuals must make a contribution to the needs of society, and that the link between production and consumption is through the wage relation. The arguments and findings which the Commission express no doubt made sense to, and were accepted by the majority of New Zealanders. As we have seen from the arguments expressed at the National Industrial Conference there were strong demands for the

hardships of life to be socialised through a welfare state. On the other hand, the employers and sole traders tended to favour austerity measures being inflicted upon the wage-earners in order to resolve the crisis within the regime of accumulation. At this time there were limited institutional forms available which could socialise these hardships, and households and individuals were required to respond as best they could.

The acceptance of the dominant normative order was more problematic for the excluded persons we have identified in Chapter Five. For some of these persons their conditions of existence were such that the dominant normative order relating to contributions and rewards made no sense at all, and a different set of strategies emerged which rejected and resisted the dominant normative order. In these conditions the very survival of a household might be at stake, and new strategies are forced upon that household and the individual members.

A Prison official described prison inmates at this time as persons lacking those "higher qualities", which were referred to as concern for others and a religious orientation to life (AJHR H20 1927). Prison inmates were characterised as having attitudes which we have referred to as predatory attitudes. This same official also indicated that offenders were products of poor home life, which was attributed as the source of the predatory attitudes. We suggest that the source of the predatory attitudes is to be found in the precariousness of the wage relation, and the inadequacy of the means of consumption which affected significant numbers of households at this time. These conditions generated strategies which included petty crime.

The Commission appointed to examine the conditions of ex-soldiers from the 1914-18 war provides some useful insights into the degree of precariousness in this

period. The Commission found that there were about 5,000 ex-soldiers whose lives were sadly impoverished because of their inability to participate in waged work, partly because of physical infirmity, but mainly because of lack of skills. The Commissioners attributed this to the persons concerned having served in the army when quite young and not having gained skills, or acquired the appropriate attitudes for regular participation in waged work. The Commission suggested that the men had volunteered for the army in search of adventure, although the Commission seems to have overlooked the fact that the men would have been subjected to the order and discipline of the army. It was noted that things went quite well for a time when labouring work was plentiful, but with the deepening of depressed employment conditions their conditions of existence bordered on poverty. The lack of socialisation into the wage relation was a major feature of the findings of the Commission. We have observed that this stemmed from the crisis in the regime of accumulation, and in the changing nature of the labour process which required fewer general labourers. We can accept that the ex-soldiers lacked the skills which were increasingly being required, however, under the labour process prior to the 1920s the degree of mechanisation was limited and labourers were required extensively to perform the transformation and transfer dimension of the labour process. Had the economy remained buoyant, and had mechanisation not occurred it is likely that the ex-soldiers who were fit to work would not have experienced the same degree of impoverishment, and would have fitted in quite satisfactorily given the limited monetised consumption norms of the time.

The general social conditions which generated strategic responses from the predatory under-class is captured well in a statement from the 1935 report by the Prisons Division to the House of Representatives. Most serious violence was related to "sordid conditions, to incidents

in miserable lives, domestic quarrels and brawls, drinking, fighting, and blows; a callousness arising from a long course of brutality and continued absence of restraint, all of which factors, having regard to the protection of society and the deterrent element, make it exceedingly difficult to determine in which cases the extreme penalty of the law should be allowed to take effect" (AJHR H20 1935 page 3). The conditions of existence of the predatory under class were such that the moral and normative order made no claim or appeal to the persons exposed to these conditions. In other words even though the moral and normative order, and the institutional order which mediated that moral and normative order, were relatively pervasive and inflexible, it was beyond the range of the most excluded and marginal.

In Chapter Seven we will see that in the 1920s and 1930s crime rates for dishonesty offending rose, but the rates were modest compared with what has become the norm since the early to mid-sixties. This raises the question of the nature of the relationship between households and the wider society, and the regulation of this relation. We will consider this relationship by considering the adequacy of the means of consumption, and fluidity and inter-generational relations. In particular we will consider the role of the neighbourhood, religious institutions, the health and education systems, and the regulation and organisation of recreation and leisure through sports and other clubs and societies.

d. Adequacy of the Means of Consumption

We have examined the issue of adequacy in Chapter Five and we noted how the level of incomes fluctuated throughout the period, but that there was always the excluded group of households and the excluded itinerant labourers. Two questions arise in relation to these two

components of the under-class. The first concerns the dilemma of whether they would accept the dominant moral and normative order, and secondly, whether this order could be enforced upon them.

We turn now to the conditions in which the dilemma of accepting or rejecting the dominant moral and normative order relate, and the question of enforcement in terms of the questions of fluidity and generation relations.

e. Fluidity and Inter-Generational Relations

Even though there was considerable upheaval and instability in the 1920s and 1930s, there were a number of institutional forms involved in the regulation of social activities. These institutional forms regulated social life outside the spheres of work and the household and this limited the fluidity and spatial mobility of social life, in terms of our definition of fluidity. The degree of monetised consumption covered the bulk of material needs, but the sphere of recreation and leisure was organised and coordinated by means of reciprocal mechanisms. In this period the limited nature of the means of consumption meant that the major form of social regulation was reciprocity based around collective activities. Participation in the activity provided the basis of social control. This contrasts with the situation under the 'Fordist' mode of consumption where the emphasis of social regulation shifts to norms regulating the private and individual use of the means of consumption. In these changed conditions it is more difficult to enforce moral norms.

Generation relations were organised around the domestic division of labour and the interdependence between the established and the emerging generation. These were important features which kept households not subjected to extraordinary misfortune from falling apart during the

depression of the 1930s. These factors help account for what now seems a modest crime rate during the time of severe inadequacy and impoverishment of the depression of the 1930s. Most households were able, in other words, to adopt informal and non-monetary means of meeting their needs. This depended upon the existence of reciprocal forms of regulation which as we have seen were important ingredients of social life at this time.[5]

However, these same rigid forms of social organisation and coordination were effective in maintaining the excluded and marginalised sector of the population in a permanent state of exclusion. This exclusion was a product of the way in which the exclusion tendency impacted upon their lives. In this excluded condition the households concerned lacked the necessary social connections or access to waged work. We referred in Chapter Five to Eldred-Griggs's (1987) story of the impoverished Christchurch family who were subordinated by the cult of respectability which was enforceable against impoverished families at this time. This is further evidence of the oppressive nature of the moral and normative order. We suggest that once a family rejected the cult of respectability which was forced upon them by the dominant group identified above and adopted alternative and predatory strategies, the probabilities are that family's exclusion fate was sealed.[6] These families often remained in this excluded social relation for generations. This seems to be one of the concerns of the Reverend Rule who noted that no one seemed willing to assist the sordid struggling sector (AJHR H20 1927).

Reference to the cult of respectability raises the question of the organisation of neighbourhoods. It seems clear that neighbourhoods were able to impose a moral and normative order upon their members. The opinions and recognition of neighbours were an important and powerful influence on the strategies which households might adopt.

The reasons for this are related to the way in which neighbourhood relations were organised, and the level of fluidity which existed at this time. In the 1920s and 1930s daily spatial mobility was limited for most people to public transport, walking and the bicycle. Shopping facilities were located near households, and schools and other facilities were within relatively close proximity which meant that the neighbourhood was the limited space in which much of social life was enacted. In this situation the neighbours are more likely to be known to each other, to know one anothers' problems and to keep each other under social scrutiny. These intimate conditions provide the conditions for the regulation and control of social life, which has important implications for the regulation and control of the emerging generation in their leisure and recreation activities. The emerging generation in this situation were under the surveillance and control of the established generation in a way which was not possible in the more fluid conditions of the current period.[7]

f. Religious Practices

In this period the Census records show that most persons acknowledged some affiliation to a religious denomination, although the level of church attendance probably did not exceed more than 16% of the population (Webster and Perry, 1989). Anglicans, Presbyterians and Catholics were the dominant religious denominations, in that order, with Catholics having the largest ratio of attenders to adherents. In this period there was widespread suspicion and mistrust between the Protestant churches and the Catholics, which resulted in the Catholics forming their own sports clubs and lodges, and also establishing their own schools. Catholics were located in the poorer areas of towns and cities at this time (Olssen, 1984) and the clergy were involved in the day-to-day regulation of the lives of their parishioners.

All of the churches no doubt played some part in stabilising the lives of their parishioners or their members. This stabilisation centred upon moral and ethical, rather than political solutions to the hardships encountered. Davin was the product of a rural Irish farming background in Southland and his work (1945, 1947 and 1949) deals with the problematic way in which both the insular ideas of rural Southland and the morality of Catholicism impacted upon the lives of the emerging generation, creating an oppressive social environment.

It is unlikely that in this period of the 1920s and 1930s the Protestant Churches were involved in the lives of their congregations to the extent of the Catholic Church, but the Presbyterians, Methodists and the Salvation Army placed more emphasis upon social reform than did the Catholic Church, and they were in the forefront of a moral crusade concerned with the moral life of the community, in particular the prohibition movement. These churches were also involved in charitable aid establishing missions in the urban areas to meet the needs of the deserving poor (Olssen, 1984:263-266).

g. Recreation and Leisure

Recreation and leisure activities focused on the consumption of alcohol for men, and this activity took place in pubs and chartered clubs. Admission to pubs was restricted to those 21 years of age and over. Sporting clubs regulated and organised a whole range of sporting activities and participation in organised sport was widespread. These sporting clubs were an important element in the regulation and control of the emerging generation. These same sporting clubs also organised other recreation and social occasions, such as public dances, which were one of the main institutions for the regulation and control of courting activities. Young

males were regulated through their participation in sport, and gradually they were initiated into the pub and other adult institutional forms.[8]

h. Education and Health Systems

An analysis of the education and health systems provides some insights into the way in which the state intervened to regulate and control the activities of households. The Health Department operated a school health system which was involved in the examination of the health of school children. These campaigns revealed that there were a substantial number of school children who suffered from ailments associated with malnutrition. It is clear also from an examination of the Health Department Reports that pressure was exerted on the parents of children to improve hygiene and diet. At this time there was concern expressed by health and education officials about children going to sleep in class because they had been required to get out of bed early to help with milking the cows and were not able to stay awake during the day. This is evidence of the contribution made by children to the material needs of the household, and to the concerns felt by the authorities about the wider demands the education system was making upon the training and education of the emerging generation. At this time there was a continuing emphasis within the education system on conformity and discipline, but participation in a labour force which was becoming more varied and demanding in its requirements, which in turn imposed demands upon the education system.

i. Some Literary Texts as Evidence of the Content of the Moral and Normative Order

In order to construct a picture of the nature and the impact of the content of the moral and normative order of the 1920s and 1930s which was mediated by the

institutional forms we have described, we will rely upon a number of literary works as an index of that order. In particular we will refer to the works of Chapman (1953), to Pearson's *Fretful Sleepers* (1952) and to Rhodes's analysis of the morality in the work of Frank Sargeson (Rhodes, 1955). We will refer incidentally to a number of other sources who have commented upon the moral climate of the time as we proceed.

The puritan ethic imposed an unforgiving and narrow moral climate which demanded obedience, and which was harsh upon those who did not fit in. The existence of a strong prohibitionist movement at this time articulated a strong attack upon alcohol consumption, and also upon those who did not pull their weight. Gibbons points out that at this time "truants, boozers, gamblers, thieves, prostitutes and larrikans were subjected to strenuous disapproval" (Gibbons, 1984:306).[9]

Chapman argues that the literature of the time is an index of strained marital and family relations in New Zealand society during this period. These writers include Davin (1945, 1947 and 1949), Sargeson (1943 and 1946) and Courage (1948). Chapman remarks that he can think of no New Zealand novel of this time dealing with the family which records a tension free household (1953:54). One of the most problematic aspects of the relations within households according to Chapman is the nature of masculinity arising out of the changing organisation of work and the separation of work and home, where women become the dominant force within households (1953:48). Davin's work highlights the tensions between the generations and the stresses which existed in these relations. Notwithstanding the stresses and tensions involved the established generation were able to maintain control and direction over the emerging generation. As Davin's work makes clear this was achieved at the price of often severely strained relations (Davin, 1945, 1947,

1949). In our analysis of household organisation we noted that there was a material basis for stress and tension between the established and emerging generation, and strong pressures consistent with a normative order enforcing conformity.[10]

Pearson's *Fretful Sleepers* (1952), written at the end of the pre-'Fordist' era, emphasises the conformity strand of the moral and normative order. Pearson described New Zealand as a norm-ridden society, which precluded the expression of greater joy or emotion or any attempt to be different. Pearson is a writer who experienced the moral and normative forces of the time and is vehement in his condemnation of them. Pearson suggests that one reaction to this overpowering force is that people make the grade in society by doing violence to themselves, sneering at their sensibilities and impulses, and the sneer is kept at the ready. The qualities which are admired for males to be manly are not expressing emotion, not being too talkative, and being able to drink one's beer fast. The result is a dour taciturn person, which breeds hypocrisy and double standards and a grim pragmatism about the reality of life. This reality is dominated by the importance of money and an orientation to the earning of money, and anything which does not further these aims and goals is a waste of time. Pearson suggests that between boyhood and maturity New Zealand men assert their manhood by losing it. "He becomes a coward, with a ready sneer, an ugly little man with a routine bar-side guffaw" (1952:226). Pearson argues that the basis of cooperation and interaction in New Zealand was the earning of money in the sphere of work, and in leisure the pursuit of sensual pleasure which he suggests was an index of societal breakdown. In the world of work New Zealanders were a community of convenience, and in the sphere of leisure he uses the metaphor of a "dead decaying sheep carcass" (1952:226).

Pearson's criticisms of the moral and normative order are powerfully expressed. As a writer growing up in New Zealand he was no doubt sensitive to the power of what Durkheim called the collective conscience, and his essay is a testimony of the existence of the collective conscience and of his reaction to it. The interesting thing is that New Zealand society was, however, open enough for Pearson, who was from a working class background on the West Coast of the South Island, to gain an education and a position as a university teacher upon his return from Britain, where the essay was written. The importance of Pearson's essay for our purpose is not so much as to whether we agree with his diagnosis, but that it is evidence of a moral order and its enforceability. Pearson's description and account of New Zealand males, while harsh and condemning, has another side. It expresses the alienated conditions of capitalist life, and the limited recreation and leisure activities forced upon men where one of their main outlets for recreation and leisure is the pub, which Pearson finds so nauseating, and disgusting.

Rhodes (1955) considers the moral climate of Frank Sargeson's stories. Sargeson's stories, unlike Pearson's essay, are inhabited by casual workers, rouseabouts, station hands and street loungers - the people who in our terms are one part of the under-class of the time. Sargeson makes the plight of these persons a moral question, and by implication a point of protest about New Zealand society. Sargeson's work incorporates a protest about the pattern of the contributions and rewards of New Zealand society which affected one part of the under-class. Like Chapman and Pearson he protests about the stultifying moral climate that emerges to sustain the pattern of contributions and rewards. In Sargeson's work the serious implications of this moral climate for interpersonal relations within marriage and families is explored and exposed. He exposes an outward settled

respectability, and the damaging constraints this imposed upon people. Sargeson identifies a residue of nobility in the excluded and the marginal, even in the face of the oppressive nature of the moral and normative order. This residue of nobility and dignity involves a quest and longing for affection, love and recognition. However, Sargeson paints a world of poverty, hunger, cruelty, oppression, loneliness and death which form the back-drop against which the excluded struggle for this affection, love and recognition (Sargeson, 1943 and 1946).

Sargeson's work identifies two features of capitalist society at this time. His work recognises the alienated and anomic conditions of life. The excluded outcasts have no control over their own lives even though they do struggle for some order and dignity in their lives. At the same time the dominant norms and values can make no appeal to them, hence their lives are experienced in social conditions which make it difficult to anchor themselves to any enduring and secure values.

The theme which unites the works we have examined is the existence of a puritanical moral and normative order which was oppressive and enforceable against all but the excluded and marginal under class. On the other hand a competing liberal humanist moral tradition which advocated the socialisation of the hardships of social life through the state also existed. The experiences of the depression of the 1930s provided the material base out of which the first Labour Government erected the welfare state, which expanded the socialisation of hardships. According to Gibbons (1984) this was preceded by a shift in the moral climate associated with the experience of the depression. However, in the period between 1920 and 1936 the puritan moral and normative force was dominant. The 1920s and 1930s were a period of economic hardship, and the puritan moral order suited the imposition of a strategy of austerity on the wage-

earners, and the accompanying discipline and control this entailed. The demand for conformity arose out of these same conditions, along with the fact that household strategies and imperatives required all household members to make a contribution in terms of their labour and/or money income. In these conditions there was limited space for individuality and difference. Pearson's and Sargeson's works are evidence that the moral and puritan order was achieved at the price of alienation and anomie. Generally people lacked control over their lives, and in the case of the most excluded and marginal they were exposed to anomic conditions where minor predatory activity was one response.

The institutional forms which regulated social life - the wage relation, the household, neighbourhoods, pubs, religious denominations, sports clubs and the education and health systems - were able to enforce this moral and normative order. One of the main reasons for this enforceability was because of the limited fluidity of the time. In particular the organisation of recreation and leisure was regulated by reciprocity, based upon participation in sports and recreation.

3. Secondary Regulation, Integration and Strategic Conduct 1945 to 1985

We will now consider the question of secondary regulation in the period between 1945 and 1985. We will consider this question in three different periods. Firstly, the period between 1945 and 1955, secondly, the period between 1955 and 1970, and thirdly, from 1970 to 1985.

a. The Period Between 1945 and 1955

This period represents the immediate period of reconstruction after the second world war. It was a

period of rapid growth of the labour force. Indeed the period between 1945 and 1951 was the most rapid period of labour force formation in New Zealand's recent history. It was possible because of the expansion of the regime of accumulation which we dealt with in Chapter Four. The expansion of the labour force, unlike post-world war one, provided employment opportunities for men returning from military action overseas and through immigration of adult workers from Britain and Western Europe. The growth of the labour force from natural population growth was limited.[10] The growth in employment in this period was concentrated in the construction industry, and in the appropriation and substitution industries of the agricultural-based food and fibre production. In this period the forestry processing industries were expanded adding another dimension to land-based food and fibre production.

This period was also accompanied by a resettlement policy for returned servicemen who were offered training and financial inducements to start in business, and there was also a significant land settlement policy enabling many to take up their own farms. Compared with the experience after the first world war this scheme was generally successful, owing to the continued period of economic expansion until the 1970s.[11]

Gibbons, as we said earlier, argues that the climate of opinion changed in New Zealand as a result of the experience of the depression of the 1930s and the war between 1939 and 1945 (1984:321). The dominant position of the puritan moral and normative order was blown apart, and the rigidity of social life was eased. The experience of the depression also created the climate for the negotiation of a new social contract, and many of the measures sought in the 1928 National Industrial Conference were achieved, such as unemployment benefits, and extended workers' compensation. The material basis

for this was the increased productivity achieved through the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process. The monopolist basis of wage fixing, however, took much longer, culminating in the dispute over the waterfront lockout in 1951.

Dunstall (1984:398) also suggests that the period after the second world war involved a shift in opinion and belief.[12] He argues that in this period the dream of a material utopia in New Zealand was rekindled. New Zealand was to become a society without class war and where plenty could be created in which all would share. During this period the trend was for the consumption norms to move towards elements of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. This was concentrated upon expanded home and motor vehicle ownership. The widespread diffusion of the mechanisation of domestic labour did not occur until the 1960s. However, real wages expanded in this period, and the male wage-earners' wages were sufficient to purchase the entire contents of the limited consumption basket. This rise in the consumption power of society generally eased the problems of adequacy in terms of the limited consumption norms which existed in the 1930s, but which were undergoing changes. However in this period between 1945 and 1955, the consumption norms were closer to the pattern of the 1930s than the 'Fordist' consumption norms of the mid-1960s and beyond. The move towards the 'Fordist' mode of consumption and the accompanying struggle this involved formed the basis for this shift in opinion and belief which Dunstall (1984) refers to.

The literature of this period does not repeat the recurrent theme of puritanism of the pre-war period, and this is consistent with the emergence of a more open and fluid society. The rise in the real wage levels of adult workers, as well as the socialisation of hardship through the welfare state and the closer relationship between

adult and adolescent wage rates loosened the interdependencies within households between adult wage-earners and their adolescent family members.[13] These factors meant that the independent powers of adolescents began to expand and that the puritan ethic was not as relevant as it had been in the earlier period reviewed. The increase in the incomes of younger wage-earners, coupled with the smaller relative contribution required towards the household budget expanded the options available to younger persons and formed the basis for a youth culture based upon commodity consumption. These changes had implications for the control of these persons and this began to translate into a changing pattern of disorder offending involving mainly younger males under 25 years old, rather than men over 30 years of age. In particular we draw attention to the increase in income in the hands of younger persons leading to some choices in the purchase of consumer durables and leisure and recreation. Many young men at this time regarded it as a priority to acquire some form of private transport, either a car or a motor cycle.[14] The acquisition of these articles enhanced the spatial mobility of the persons concerned particularly in their leisure and recreation activities. This advancement in the level of income among the emerging generation gave rise to new standards of taste, and to new forms of music and dancing which alarmed many of the established generation.[15] The availability of consumer durables and the commodification of recreation and leisure is dependent upon the changing nature of the regime of accumulation dealt with in Chapter Four.

These changes are reflected in the trend for the ages of offenders to fall (see Table 7.30). The increasing fluidity and loosening in inter-generational relations manifested itself in moral panics over the coordination and control of teenagers with the setting up of the

Mazengarb commission to inquire in to juvenile delinquency in the Hutt Valley in 1954 (AJHR H47 1954).[16]

Even though the levels of consumption advanced, as we have seen from our discussion in Chapter Five, it is still possible to identify different tiers of households in relation to the wages/consumption relation, which included a segment of households dependent upon social welfare (see Table 5.21). However, the existence of these households is no doubt attributable, as it was in the previous period, to the exclusion from wage labour as a result of a misfortune intervening, and affecting the main wage-earner. Exclusion in this sense is no doubt the main explanation for the under-class, which in turn accounts for the continuation of predatory activity, even though, as we will see, at a lower level than in the 1920s and 1930s (see Chapter Seven).

b. <u>The Period Between 1955 and 1970</u>

In this period of fifteen years there was steady growth in the labour force. The rate of growth of the labour force was slower in the productive sector than in the previous ten years which we have just considered. In the period between 1966 and 1971 the rate of labour force growth slowed considerably, and in the construction sectors it contracted in relative terms. The mechanisation of transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process, rising productivity and rising real incomes all contributed to the shift to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. In this period the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, including the mechanisation of domestic labour, became increasingly diffused across society.

Young single wage-earners' consumption capacity based on their earning ability continued to expand in this period and continues a trend we observed in the previous ten

year period. The acquisition, ownership and use of motor vehicles as part of leisure and recreation patterns is a central feature of the lifestyle of young persons, again continuing a trend established earlier. Changing styles of recreation and leisure based upon monetary exchange are more widely established in this period reflecting increasing consumption norms and consumption capacity. The change to 10 o'clock closing for hotels in 1967 involved major changes in the form of recreation and leisure, and destroyed many older well established forms of social interaction such as suburban and club dances, which had been the central means of courting among young persons. This involved a major change to commodified consumption from a reciprocal form of social coordination and organisation.[17]

The mechanisation of domestic labour meant that integration within households in terms of the domestic division of labour was weakened. This had important implications for the coordination and organisation of the time and energies of the emerging generation. The changing nature of household contributions created a potential space for individual freedom for children, which opened up a potential gap in the basis of their regulation and control. In these changed conditions regulation and control is focussed upon the recreation and leisure of the family, and the parents' supervision and controlling of the participation of their children in the education system. If the household was not involved in collective recreation and leisure and/or where the parents were not involved in the supervision and control of participation in the education system, the children were able to take advantage of, for their own ends, the gap in the regulation of their activities opened up through the mechanisation of domestic labour. The interaction of young persons within the neighbourhood became difficult for the established generation within households and for social control agencies. This was

manifested in increases in the levels of juvenile delinquency, where some parents were unable or unwilling to coordinate, organise and control the neighbourhood activities of their children.[19] Often this became a problem as households struggled to participate in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption where both parents were required to work.[19] The rising productivity of labour also meant that work became more 'Fordist' and parents involved in such demanding work often were not inclined, perhaps through tiredness, or were unable to participate in the coordination, organisation and control of their children within the neighbourhood. This left the children with a formal freedom where petty theft and vandalism developed, and this in turn invited responses from the police.

The major imperative impacting upon most New Zealand households was the participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption which, as we have observed, is centred upon home and vehicle ownership, the mechanisation of domestic labour, and the monetisation of recreation and leisure. However, participation in this mode of consumption was beyond the level of most male wage-earners, and many households required more than one income to engage in this mode of consumption. The additional income was provided by women wage-earners whose participation in the labour force advanced significantly in this period (see Chapter Five).

The growth in the number of one-parent households, many of whom were headed by women, also had implications for the coordination and control of the emerging generation. There are many single-parent households where the parent has managed very well to coordinate and organise the energies and activities of their children. However, there are many cases of single parents who have been unable to coordinate and organise their children. This presents the children with a formal freedom, but they are

often faced with limited income which impedes their ability to take advantage of this formal freedom. The cases of John and Shaun, whose profiles are set out in Chapter One, are examples of this factor of inter-generational relations leading to strategies of theft on their part, which in turn brought them to the attention of the police and control agencies. The crucial question is whether the activities of the children are coordinated and organised rather than whether there are one or two parents. An important feature of single-parent households headed by women, however, is that these households often have low incomes in relation to the 'Fordist' consumption norms, and this tends to increase the probability of strategic conduct based upon predatory characteristics because of the limited adequacy of the means of consumption. As we pointed out above, monetary income provides access to the objects and means of consumption, but inadequacy places severe pressures upon the reciprocal mechanisms of regulation within households and leads to a breakdown of control.

The rising consumption norms, increasing social fluidity, and the loosening of the inter-generational relations are the main features affecting strategic conduct during this period. The rising consumption norms, as we have shown, derive from the expansion of the forces of production and these factors expanded the range and diversity of activities. The crucial question defining the scope of the range of activities in this situation is the link to the regime of accumulation through the wage relation. The extent and magnitude of the scope of activities play an important part in the formation of the intentions, from which derive the concrete activities of individuals.

In considering the relationship between strategic conduct and normative and moral order, we want to stress the focus on motor vehicle ownership and use, and the

monetised nature of recreation and leisure. Associated with these elements of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption is the increasing fluidity of society stemming from the private and individual use of the means of consumption and a loosening of the inter-generational relations. All of these combine to create a formal freedom from the coordination, control and direction of many young persons by the parent generation. The major impediment to the participation by youth in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption is the access to income. We can contrast this with the mode of consumption in the 1920s and 1930s where monetised consumption (particularly monetised recreation and leisure), was not as important. In the 1920s and 1930s these activities were coordinated and controlled within the institutional forms which we identified in our discussion of the 1920 and 1930s and were regulated by reciprocal means, which were part and parcel of the activity itself. However, by the 1960s the form of recreation and leisure activity had changed significantly and the main means of regulation of these activities is mediated by monetary exchange. The earlier forms of coordination and control are at best weakened or become increasingly irrelevant in the changed situation.

More precisely, the increased fluidity stemming from the private and individual use of the means of consumption and the emphasis upon monetised recreation and leisure, accompanied by a loosening in generational relations, meant that the recreational and leisure dimensions of the activity cycle weakened the institutional forms which mediated the moral and normative order in the 1920s and 1930s. The initiation of the emerging generation into the different activities in terms of the institutional forms contained the basis of their regulation. The weakening of the institutional forms had two consequences. Firstly, it contributed to the fluidity which we have already mentioned, and secondly, it compromised the basis of identity formation, particularly

for the under-class who were freed from most forms of regulation and control.

c. The Emergence of Over-consumption as the Basis for a Transformed Hegemonic Moral and Normative Order 1970 to 1985

One of the most important features of the current period has been the emergence of what Davis (1986) calls over-consumption. This has involved the polarisation of New Zealand society which we dealt with in Chapter Five. At one pole a group has emerged whose incomes allow for conspicuous consumption. At the other pole there has also been the expansion in a mode of consumption we have called semi-'Fordist', which refers to a mode of consumption which is 'Fordist' in orientation, but where the income level precludes full participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. We dealt with this in Chapter Five, and we want now to consider the material changes which made this possible, and the effects this has had upon the moral and normative order of society.

The two major changes which have occurred in the period since 1970 have been in the growth of the wholesale/retail, finance and state services sectors of the labour force, and the contraction of the industrial working class. Lash and Urry (1987) associate the emergence of post-modernism and the growth of the service class with conspicuous consumption, which equates with our use of the term over-consumption. Lash and Urry equate the service class with the white-collar worker engaged in the provision of services rather than the production of goods. We will not engage in debating the correctness of this terminology, but we can agree that there has been considerable growth in the number of workers located in the wholesale/retail, finance and state service sectors of the labour force, performing services rather than producing goods. It is also clear

that since 1970 this group has the largest proportion of people located in Levels 3 and 4 of the wages/consumption relation (see the distribution of incomes of the various sectors set out in Appendix II of Chapter Five). This group has become the dominant consumption group in New Zealand and in Lash and Urry's terms they are the "consumer par excellence" (1987:292).

We noted in Chapter Five that in the years between 1982 and 1986 New Zealand society spent more money on recreation and leisure than on the combined total of food and clothing. At the same time as the service class advanced, the industrial working class has declined in relative and absolute terms. In the latter sector the greatest concentration of wage-earners is located in Levels 1 and 2 of the wages/consumption relation. The other important feature of this period has been the growth and expansion of the under-class, many of whom are involved in predatory activities.

This emphasis upon consumption has undermined the morality which we observed was so strong in the 1920s and 1930s and indeed well into the 1950s and 1960s. It is still possible to identify elements of the puritan moral and normative order in both its strands, but the point is that it is no longer dominant and enforceable. The 'service class' by virtue of their numbers, their high incomes relative to other classes, and because of the pervasiveness of advertising have been able to imprint a moral and normative order which stresses the desirability of consumption rather than the honour of work (Seabrook, 1985). The irony of course is that the 'service class' must work assiduously and conscientiously to participate in the over-consumption life style. The other irony is that the under-class, who have an enforced idleness through unemployment, have adopted the emphasis of over-consumption in their value structure, but lack the means to engage in this form of consumption and lifestyle. At

the same time the institutional forms which regulated activities in the earlier period reviewed have broken down, and are irrelevant as regulators of social activities in the changed conditions of life.

In the 1920s and 1930s a wide disparity in production norms meant that there were a variety of social forces shaping individual identity, stemming from the nature of the work an individual was engaged in and their social class location. On the basis of our earlier arguments it seems reasonable to assume that a stable basis for identity did exist at this time, and there was little ambiguity about the overall dominant moral order which demanded contributions to social needs. The consumption patterns were also relatively stable and clear-cut at this time, and recreation and leisure took place within a range of institutional forms identified above. The chance to be different was restricted, and social conformity was enforceable. On the other hand the analysis of the literary texts showed that alienation and anomie were real features of the social organisation of New Zealand society at this time.[20]

The increased social fluidity which we have identified reduced the certainty of boundaries in which the self is constructed, and this introduced a great deal of ambiguity which individuals experience about their identity. We can add to this the increased probability of the disruption of households in these fluid conditions, associated with the 'Fordist' and semi-'Fordist' mode of consumption. All of these factors impede the formation of a sense of self where the contribution norms of society are absent or, at best, weakly formed. In these circumstances an identity emerges among the under-class which feeds upon the dominant over-consumption moral and normative order.

The increased social fluidity based on the private and individual use of the means of consumption presents an exciting world where notions of freedom and autonomy can feed on powerful passions and aspirations. These aspirations and passions can have free reign in the context of formal freedom. The material forces which convey these meanings can then be contrasted with the mundane world of work, and its intensification which has accompanied the increase in labour productivity. It is not difficult to appreciate that some persons will identify with and recognise themselves as 'Joe Swingers'. This identity creates problems for those who adopt it if they lack the income to engage in commodified recreation and leisure.

These persons reject the world of work and discipline, which they regard as dull and boring. Instead they adopt a set of beliefs which they regard as worthwhile and good, and which involves life in the 'fast lane' or the 'swinging' lifestyle. This is an acceptance of the dominant ideology of consumption, and involvement in drugs is a common form which this consumption takes. Such consumption involves an expansion of consciousness as drugs can become a substitute form of satisfaction which can often results in addiction.

The major dilemma concerning the adoption of these alternative normative orders is the lack of income. In the 'Fordist' mode of consumption monetary exchange is the means of access to the realisation of this lifestyle. It is in this set of contradictory forces that a predatory identity is adopted (assuming it is adopted), but it means confrontation with parents, neighbours, and official enforcement agencies who seek to restrain, control and discourage predatory activities. It also involves confrontation with others engaged in predatory activities and the reproduction of the predatory social relations.

In this situation individuals are exposed to a series of contradictory forces and pressures. On the one hand social life is fluid and transitory where there is a formal freedom from forces coordinating, organising or directing their activities. This formal freedom is challenged to some extent by interventions from the state through the police and other agencies of social control. On the other hand they lack the money to engage in the lifestyle their intentions, beliefs and aspirations desire. In these contradictory conditions participation in predatory actions becomes a way of reconciling the contradictions between formal freedom, the lack of social power, and their intentions and aspirations. The choice of a predatory lifestyle, however, involves entry into a set of social relations relating to the 'underground economy', and in some cases the joining of a gang, or assuming a particular predatory identity, of which there are a number.[21] Those concerned exchange a formal freedom for a set of social relations which has its own rules and conventions for the coordination, organisation, control and direction of their lives, which we will deal with more fully in the next section and in Chapter Seven.

4. The Emergence of the 'Underground Economy'

It is the emergence of the production, distribution and consumption of illicit drugs, organised in an 'underground economy' which has provided a means of overcoming the contradiction between aspiration and lack of means. The drug economy has, therefore, added a new dimension to the options available to the predatory under-class, and distinguishes the activities of this class in the current period from all previous periods in New Zealand. The increased fluidity of social activities and the loosening of inter-generational relations in the period between 1955 and 1970 was the essential change which made it possible for illicit drug production,

distribution and consumption to occur. As we have demonstrated, these changes in the material organisation of consumption were accompanied by an ideological shift where consumerism becomes the dominant moral and normative order.

The consumption of illicit drugs in this social environment, was both the cause and the effect of the emergence of an 'underground economy' which was devoted to the production and distribution of these drugs. It is necessary, therefore, to account for the demand for illicit drugs which exploded in New Zealand society from the late 1960s onwards.

The demand for illicit drugs is linked to the emergence of the fluid social conditions which we outlined in Chapter Five, and which we have again detailed in this Chapter. The fluid conditions of social life are directly linked to the intensive regime of accumulation which altered the production norms and the mode of consumption. The position has been complicated by the breakdown of the intensive regime of accumulation, the contraction in certain sectors of the labour force and the growth of the under-class. The point is that not all people could take advantage of these fluid conditions, but the general conditions of fluidity changed the basis of social regulation. These changes also altered the experience of space and time (Harvey, 1989). It is necessary to indicate how the changed experience of space and time is linked to the demand for illicit drugs. Harvey (1989) explores similar ideas to those expressed here, but he places the emphasis upon space and time dimensions, whereas our emphasis has been upon the regulation of social relations in terms of reciprocity or value relations. However, there is much in Harvey's analysis which is relevant to our concerns, particularly the almost sudden explosion of drug consumption from the late 1960s. He argues that there have been two recent

transformations in the experience of space and time. One was in the period between 1910 and 1915 and the other after the late 1960s. The changes in the 1910-1915 period is associated with the establishment of 'Fordism', and the most recent change with the emergence of a flexible regime of accumulation. Harvey places his argument within the modernist/post-modernist debate, and accounts for both modernism and post-modernism in terms of major shifts in the regime of accumulation. The two changes which Harvey deals with, 1910-15 and the change from the late sixties, both compressed the dimensions of space and time, exacerbating what he refers to as the ephemeral and transitory nature of social life. It seems as though Harvey uses the metaphor of ephemerality in much the same way that we use fluidity as a metaphor to define the nature of modern life. Harvey seems to be arguing that the changes in the experience of space and time dating from the late 1960s is qualitatively different in that it has intensified the compression of space and time, and created conditions of "excessive ephemerality and fragmentation in the political and the private as well as the social realm" (Harvey, 1989:306).

Harvey argues that accompanying ephemerality of the post-modern condition is a bombardment of sensory images which heightens the experience of the here and now, emphasising 'being over becoming'. It is this heightening of the here and now which we believe lies at the heart of the demand for illicit drugs. The consumption of drugs enhances these effects of the here and now, intensifying the moment and enlarging consciousness. It is an effect which mirrors the ephemeral and transitory nature of modern life. Bell (1976) in his analysis of the cultural contradiction of capitalism noted the same demand for immediacy in experience which he considered was associated with a breakdown in the formation of the work ethic. Bell identifies much the same phenomena as Harvey, but approaches it from a much different route.

Our understanding of drug production, distribution and consumption is informed by the writer's discussions with drug dealers and users over a four year period in prison, where, for the most part, aspects of the drug scene were never far from the agenda of matters discussed. The dominant feature which emerged out of these discussions was the thirst for the enhancement of experience and consciousness which drug-taking allowed.

The compression of space and time heightens the experience of the here and now. The compression of space and time is linked to the changing nature of the regime of accumulation, its mode of regulation, and the changing nature of the wage nexus. Drug consumption is a direct outcome of these factors and is an ingredient of the fluid nature of social life. In other words the problem of drug consumption and demand must be located in the material conditions of production and consumption and the changing forms of regulation this involved. It is a normative order which stresses experience over all else, and where that experience is heightened in an intense way. The profiles of Dave and Mark in Chapter One exemplify this most dramatically, especially the case of Dave. He is an individual of almost frightening intensity, and was prepared to defy death to intensify the range of his consciousness and experience. He was the most extreme example which the author encountered although other inmates in Wi Tako prison serving sentences for drugs offences at the same time as the author also referred to the same desires to expand the range of consciousness.

5. The 'Underground Economy'

The next issue concerns the organisation of the 'underground economy' and its regulation. Our knowledge of the 'underground economy' is limited to the accounts of those who have been involved in drug dealing.

However, on the basis of the crime and imprisonment pattern it is possible to build up a reliable picture of the organisation and operation of the 'underground economy' in association with the oral histories gathered in the prison context.[22]

The 'underground economy' is organised around a series of activities, the first of which is the production, distribution and consumption of drugs. This is a relatively new activity making its impact from the late 1960s. The second activity relates to the theft and re-cycling of stolen property. In Table 7.6 we have shown the value of property criminally appropriated in 1984. In this Table the emphasis upon the theft of articles which are a central feature of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption is clear. Motor vehicles and electronic equipment are the major items stolen, and a great deal of this property is never recovered. For the three years ending 1984 an average of $15,000,000 worth of motor vehicles was never recovered. These vehicles are stolen and recycled through the 'underground economy'. The third activity of the 'underground economy' relates to the protection rackets associated with massage parlours, strip joints and nightclubs.[23] There are signs of a fourth activity of the 'underground economy' emerging in the form of general protection being offered by gangs, but this aspect is unclear at this time.[24]

The operation of the 'underground economy' is itself the source of criminal activity related to violent and dishonesty crime. There has been a noticeable increase in offences involving intimidation and 'standover tactics' associated with the operation of the 'underground economy' (see Table 7.7 concerning intimidation offences, which are included in the serious violence category). The trading activity within the 'underground economy' is not subject to regulation by the legal system, and the failure to meet obligations is

sanctioned by the people concerned by violent means. There are examples of this in the profiles dealt with in Chapter One. In other words the 'underground economy' is subject to its own form of regulation, and it constitutes the emergence of a relatively new institutional form regulating the activities of those engaged in predatory activities.

However, during the period from 1970 onwards the degree of precariousness of the wage relation increased once more, resulting in the expansion of an under-class, and the re-emergence of inadequacy of the means of consumption for those located in the lower levels of the wages/consumption relation. Two of the major groups to be affected by changes in the wage relation, and the rising levels of unemployment were young persons and also ethnic minorities. The increasing difficulty for many young persons to make a smooth transition from school to the labour force was disrupted, and this factor, together with greater fluidity and loose inter-generational relations meant that some young persons found that dealing in drugs offered a lucrative opportunity to engage in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.[25]

The reproduction of the social relations of the predatory under-class in general and the 'underground economy' in particular are hazardous and uncertain. Whereas the institutional forms of the 1920s and 1930s, matched by a puritan moral and normative order, restricted social fluidity, the social relations of the under-class are fluid and transitory, where a consumer ethic predominates and a desire for intense immediate experience is sought. There are few boundaries and norms to guide activity, as it is a normless arena fraught with danger, violence and savagery. This is captured well in the poem which is anonymous and written by the girl friend of a skin head moved by the violence among the skin heads in Christchurch during the mid-1980s. We think it is a

powerful statement about the normlessness of the lives of those who are located in the predatory under-class.

TO DIE A PROUD SKIN HEAD...

The first to go was Pidge,
laid quietly to rest,
his boots beside his coffin
and his knife in his chest

Gary Stone was murdered
at the age of 21,
he picked one fight too many
but he was only having fun

so everybody curses,
and cries and swears revenge,
but still it doesn't stop you
from killing all your friends

with alcohol and needles
to turn your head around,
do you think you'll even notice
when your 6 feet underground?

Barney, Scott, the Major,
Jeff, Mike, and many more,
you cry at all their funerals
and then go out to score

Even Brine was burnt to death,
as was your young friend Steve.
Johnny Crawford cut his throat
one lonely New Year's Eve

Bart, too is in his grave now,
grey eyes as cold as stone
standing up for a lady's rights
but he still died alone

all the baby martyrs,
all victims of the cause,
but did they have to fall so hard?
and is your 'cause' worth dying for?

but you think you're really something
as your fighting for your lives
you think you've got a reason
to flaunt your glistening knives

yea, you think you're really something,
you think you're pretty cool,
but as you die the world goes by,
and laughs, and calls you fools

so let me tell you something,
as your cause kills all your friends;
that a life like that's not living,
and death's the only end.[26]

The normlessness of the predatory under-class takes an extreme form, but the whole of New Zealand society experiences a crisis of morality and an uncertainty about absolute and universal values which might anchor peoples lives.

6. Summary and conclusions

In this Chapter so far we have been concerned with the way in which the moral and normative order is implicated in the regulation of social action. In the 1920s and 1930s we identified two main strands of the moral and normative order, the puritan order and the liberal humanist order. Two strands of puritanism in turn were mentioned, one which was mean-spirited and condemned the loafer, and the other which enforced conformity and condemned difference. Puritanism in both its strands was the dominant order, and corresponded to a mode of consumption in which monetary consumption was limited to food, housing, clothing, limited household durables and operations and public transport. We have shown how this moral and normative order was the product of the regime of accumulation and the organisation of the class structure of that regime of accumulation. The organisation of recreation and leisure was mediated through a structure of institutional forms, which provided the regulatory framework for what we have broadly called the sphere of consumption. We described this overall organisation of life pre-'Fordist'.

We then traced the way in which the intensive regime of accumulation, and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption reduced the enforceability of the puritanical moral and

normative order in both its strands. In the period after 1945 the puritan order was gradually superseded by a moral and normative order based on overconsumption, which in the period after 1970 became the dominant moral and normative order. The dominance of this moral and normative order has been imposed by the growth and advancement of the service class, which we observed in our analysis of the regulation of consumption in Chapter Five. The under-class has adopted this morality, but lack the income and the means to engage in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. However, the emergence of the 'underground economy' has provided an institutional form which makes possible the reconciliation of the contradiction between overconsumption and exclusion from the wage relation. We showed that this social situation is characterised by a tendency towards normlessness, and that the conditions of existence within this relation are hazardous and dangerous.

Durkheim (1964a) believed that individuals would not commit themselves to the social life of a society which denied and violated notions of a morality of reciprocal contribution and rewards. In an organic society it was necessary to develop institutional forms which reflected this underlying morality, because it was within these social institutions that individuals imposed this morality upon one another. Durkheim obviously believed that in the absence of suitable social institutions which assured equality of contributions and rewards social agents would struggle to redress the imbalance and that there was a risk that criminal activity would occur, which was in itself a negation and violation of the type of morality he thought was needed to stabilise and secure an harmonious society.

In the analysis above we have identified and specified the mechanisms in which the relationship between primary and secondary regulation and strategic conduct operates.

In the 1920s and 1930s we have seen how the dominant contribution norms would make no sense at all to some persons excluded from the wage relation, and that they would seek to devise alternative strategies. However, because of the limited consumption norms which prevailed in this time some of the persons concerned lived squalid and sordid lives on the margins of society. In the period after 1945 to about 1955 virtually all wage-earners' income could meet the norms of the limited mode of consumption, and it was relatively easy for persons to make a contribution to society and receive a reward for doing so which was consistent with limited consumption norms. In this period the level of fluidity increased and this started to disturb the relations between the generations, and young people's struggle and resistance takes on new forms manifesting in lifestyles such as milk bar cowboys. The expanding freedom of young people disturbed the established generation, and this concern surfaced in 1954 with the setting up of the Mazengarb committee in that year.

In the period between 1955 and 1970 the social structure of New Zealand society was transformed and remade. This continued a process which had its beginnings in the late 1930s. The transformation in the regime of accumulation and the mode of consumption altered the nature of social regulation including the moral and normative order. In this period the major concern of working-class households was to engage in the new mode of consumption which emphasised home and vehicle ownership, the mechanisation of domestic labour and commodified recreation and leisure. For those excluded from waged labour an alternative set of strategies emerged, and we can identify the emergence of new types of predatory activity which we will analyse more fully in the next Chapter. Increasing social fluidity and weakened inter-generational relations added new dimensions in the struggle of the emerging generation to free themselves

from the regulation of the established generation. The emerging generation were helped in this struggle by their increased spending power.

In the period after 1970 the wage relation underwent further changes with the contraction of certain sectors, disrupting access to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The emergence of drug consumption is a symptom of a society where consumption takes priority over the contribution norms. By this time many young people had rejected the morality of making a legitimate contribution, often as a result of being denied the opportunity, and predatory activities become a way of life, associated with the receipt of the social wage. The emergence of the 'Joe Swinger' syndrome cannot be understood adequately unless it is located within the changes in the regime of accumulation and the modes of production and consumption, the way in which they have shaped secondary regulation and the strategic conduct of many persons. The strategies of predatory activity are associated with the emergence of an 'underground economy' whose mode of regulation is closely related to the patterns of crime and imprisonment.

A major preoccupation of households in the period since the second world war has been to participate in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption as this mode of consumption became diffused across society. This struggle was accompanied, as we have said, by an increasing fluidity, which meant that relations between households in neighbourhoods became far more isolated and fragmented. This meant that the normative and moral order of respectability which operated in the 1920s and 1930s was not able to exert the same force upon households. This factor added to the fragmentation and fluidity of social life. In other words the reciprocal relations which helped bind the social relations of communities and neighbourhoods in the 1920s and 1930s can no longer

function. The formation of neighbourhood support groups has been an attempt to strengthen community surveillance, although it is not clear how effective they have been in building new forms of community and forming a basis for coordinating and regulating the activities within communities.[27]

The 'underground economy' associated with drugs and the theft and recycling of stolen property does not exhaust the nature of predatory activity in the current period. The other important feature of predatory activity in the current period is the way in which the changes in primary and secondary regulation affected Maori people who are disproportionately represented in the offending statistics. We turn now to consider this issue.

7. The Impact of Primary and Secondary Regulation upon the Maori People and Some of their Strategic Responses

Since our primary objective is to understand the nature of persistent offending in the period since 1970 to 1985 we are limiting our consideration of Maori offending to the period since the second world war, and in particular from 1970 to 1985. This means that our treatment is partial, but our concern is the effect that the intensive regime of accumulation and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption have had upon Maori people. We believe that by restricting our focus to the period since the second world war we can identify the nature of persistent offending among Maori people to at least 1985. However, it is necessary to locate our understanding of the problem in relation to the historical development of the relations between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand since the time of colonisation in the nineteenth century. We will mainly confine our analysis to the period since 1945. We will draw upon one of the works of Witi Ihimaera (1984) in order to understand the urbanisation

experience of Maori persons in the period since 1945, and we will make a critique of Jackson's study of *The Maori and the Criminal Justice System* (1988). Our consideration of the problems faced by Maori people is a large topic and our treatment must of necessity be limited. Our concern will be with the way in which primary regulation impacted upon Maori people, and the way this affected secondary regulation and their integration into urban society. We will discuss, therefore, the impact of the forms of regulation stemming from the regime of accumulation, the wage relation, the mode of consumption and secondary regulation upon the Maori people.

Jackson (1988) adopts a cultural perspective to explain Maori offending, but does not define what he means by culture. It seems that culture is a catch-all concept which refers to social regulation, in relation to economic life, its regulation, and to the beliefs, religion and ideology which all fits together like the weave of cloth. The spiritual dimension infuses all elements of life, and is an underlying feature of the weave. This approach is similar to a conventional application of Durkheim's work, where the primary and secondary aspects of regulation are not clearly delineated. For this reason we regard Jackson's approach as one where secondary regulation is dominant. Jackson argues strongly for the importance of cultural forces ahead of class factors. The relationship between Maori and Pakeha is treated as a cultural relationship. The social world is divided into the Maori way and the Pakeha way as two diametrically opposed worlds, and therefore it involves in our terms a clash of secondary regulation systems. We must respect the reality of this opposition which is both an objective and subjective reality for Maori people. However, we feel there are problems with remaining exclusively within a cultural framework which makes it difficult to theorise the modes of production

and consumption and identify their specificity and mode of regulation. It is also difficult within this theoretical framework to consider why secondary regulation takes the form it does, or why it might be breaking down, or indeed succeeding if this is the case. With these reservations we will draw upon Jackson's study by studying the questions of primary and secondary regulation and integration in terms of the regime of accumulation, the wage-labour nexus and the mode of consumption. We hope that in doing so we can show how the cultural elements as secondary and not primary factors can be incorporated in a theory of social regulation.

This analysis involves a consideration of the way in which the regime of accumulation, the wage relation and the mode of consumption impacted upon Maori people as they made the transition from rural to urban New Zealand. We can only do this by placing these changing forces in the context of Maori/Pakeha relationships since the first days of colonisation. It is necessary to consider the basis of social regulation of Maori social life:

> The traditional Maori ideals of law had their basis in a religious and mystical weave which was codified into oral tradition and sacred beliefs. They made up a system based on a spiritual order which was nevertheless developed in a rational and practical way to deal with the questions of mana, security, and social stability... This belief led to an emphasis on group rather than individual concerns: the rights of an individual were indivisible from the welfare of his whanau, his hapu, and his iwi. Each had reciprocal obligations tied to precedents handed down by shared ancestors. Although oral, the precedents established clear patterns of social regulation. (Jackson 1988:39)

The colonisation of New Zealand by British settlers disrupted the reciprocal modes of regulation and encouraged individualism (Jackson 1988:45) which began to replace traditional group cohesiveness. Maori people

were denied participation in the system of government and the formulation of British law demeaned their mana and diminished the worth of their ideals. In our reformulation of these arguments this involved the disruption of the reciprocal forms of regulation and freed many Maori people from the regulation of their collective life. This took place in the face of the establishment of one mode of production (petty commodity production) and the replacement of the traditional Maori mode of production. In the petty commodity mode of production monetary exchange was the dominant form of regulation which opposed the reciprocal mode of regulation of Maori society. Jackson argues that after the initial period of settlement, land confiscation and wars, the Maori settled into a rural life style where many of the forms of regulation of former times operated to order life for the Maori people. However, this was all changed in the process of mass internal migration to the urban situation (Jackson 1988:77). It is the mass movement that we want to study in terms of our theoretical framework.

We recall that as a result of the strategies of appropriation in land-based food and fibre production, the labour process in agriculture was transformed resulting in a massive increase in the volume of production but with a reduction in the labour power required to produce the increased volumes. This was beginning to affect the Maori labour force in the 1920s and 1930s, but the problem intensified for Maori people after the second world war in that they made up part of the rural work force who depended on shearing and other casual farm work.[28] Maori people were also employed in freezing works and dairy factories in neighbouring towns. Some worked in rural transport and the railways. Many were engaged in subsistence agriculture and many lived in impoverished conditions. The rates of illness such as tuberculosis were high at this time among Maori people.

Even so the Maori population was growing quickly as we see from Table 6.2.

Strategies of appropriation in land-based food and fibre production were the basic factor which reduced the employment opportunities within the rural area for Maori people. The effects of these strategies started a move from the rural areas into the towns, and although this move was gradual at first it began to pick up momentum from the early 1950s. The two major moves in terms of numbers were during the periods 1961-1966 and 1971-1976. We recall that between 1966 and 1971 the labour force growth slowed and so too did the internal migration of Maori.

The other side of growth in the regime of accumulation at the time was the establishment of substitution industries in land-based food and fibre production, the growth of the industries serving these such as construction and metals and machinery, and an expansion of manufacturing. The Maori people were absorbed into these industries as they expanded. Generally, however, the Maori were concentrated in the freezing industry of the industrial food complex, in the construction industry as labourers, as process workers in manufacturing and in the transport industry as drivers. These were industries where the production norms did not require high skill levels, or extended training in education institutions (see Table 6.3 in Note 29).

We have already noted a slowing in the growth of the labour force in the sectors where Maori people were concentrated from about 1966 onwards. Maori people were concentrated in the agricultural, forestry, factory production and transport sectors (Pearson and Thorns, 1983:206). These are the sectors which we showed experienced slower growth rates, and indeed in some cases contraction. There were two forces within the regime of

accumulation involved in the internal migration Maori people from rural areas to urban New Zealand. The first was the strategies of appropriation which pushed the Maori from the rural areas, with the second being the concentration of employment in the processing industries, construction and transport. However, the crisis in the intensive regime of accumulation which set-in from the early 1970s has reduced the employment opportunities and intensified competition for jobs. The degree of internal migration between 1945 and 1981 was massive by any standards and involved a tremendous upheaval in the lives of large number of persons (see Table 6.2 for details of the changing demographic structure).

It is necessary to consider the relationship between internal migration, the changing nature of the wage relation and the mode of consumption. In the mode of consumption the wage expresses the limit of monetised consumption. We need also to draw attention to the private and individual nature of households which contrasts with the extended, collective life of the Maori mode of production in the rural situation and regulated by reciprocal means. We need also to remind ourselves of the expanding consumption norms in the period after 1945, and to the increasing fluidity, and the loosening of inter-generational relations, which all affected the normative and moral order. It is necessary also to recall the central use values of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, which are home and vehicle ownership, mechanised domestic labour and monetary recreation and leisure, and the struggles of Maori households to engage in this mode of consumption.

An analysis of income distribution among Maori people shows that there are a greater number of Maori persons located in Levels 1 and 2 than for the whole of New Zealand indicating that a disproportionate number of Maori had problems meeting the consumption norms of the

'Fordist' mode of consumption. Jackson argues that Maori people were relegated to inferior housing at high rentals which contributed to a tenuous hold on the 'Fordist' mode of consumption (Jackson 1988:79). In 1986 according to the Census 67.20% of Maori persons over 15 years of age had incomes of less than $15,000, and 17.69% had incomes between $15,000 and $25,000. This means that 84.9% of all Maori wage-earners were located in Levels 1 and 2 of the wages/consumption relation (New Zealand Census, 1986).

Table 6.2 The Maori Population Increase and the Rural/ Urban Split, 1951 to 1986.

	Total	% increase	Rural	% increase/ decrease	Urban	% increase
1951	115,583	-	90,563	-	25,020	-
1956	137,151	18.66	101,779	12.38	35,372	41.37
1961	167,086	21.86	109,675	7.75	57,411	62.30
1966	201,159	20.39	100,079	-8.74	101,680	77.10
1971	227,574	13.13	94,604	-5.47	132,970	30.77
1976	270,035	18.65	64,347	-31.98	205,688	54.68
1981	284,000	5.17	56,800	-11.72	227,200	10.45
1986	series discontinued					

Source: New Zealand Census 1945 to 1981

We will now consider the sequence of internal migration as revealed in Table 6.2 from 1951 until 1986. In 1951 the total Maori population was 115,583 with 90,563 (or 78.35%) in rural areas and 25,020 (or 21.64%) in towns of more than 1,000. In 1951 the largest proportion of the Maori people were located in rural areas closely tied to the land, and where they were engaged in subsistence agriculture and in seasonal work, shearing, freezing works and cropping, including hay making (Pearson and Thorns, 1983). It is likely that at this time the traditional moral and normative system would have exerted considerable influence. In 1951 Maori males sentenced to imprisonment amounted to 17.54% of the total, and Maori

women represented 35% of all women sentenced to imprisonment. These figures were disproportionately high, but much lower than the figures from the mid-sixties onwards (see Tables 7.37 to 7.43).

Between 1951 and 1956 there was an overall increase of 18.6% in the Maori population, with increases of 12.38% in the rural and 41.37% in the urban area. However, in absolute numbers the rural population increased by 11,216 and the urban population by 10,352. It is likely that many who made the shift at this time were young persons who could not find employment in the rural areas. The young Maori making this shift were entering a strange new land which was regulated in a way quite different to the rural situation and where access to money was all important.

Between 1956 and 1961 the Maori rural population continued to expand with an increase of 7,896, or a 7.75% increase. On the other hand the urban population increased by 62.30%, or by 22,039 in absolute terms. Between 1961 and 1966 there is a considerable leap in the urban population and a fall in the rural areas. This fall in the rural areas has continued until 1985. Contrary to many claims the large transformation did not occur until the early 1960s. If this claim is correct it is the push of appropriation strategies rather than the pull to the urban areas which is the more influential force in the internal migration.[29]

Between 1966 and 1971 the rate of internal migration slowed, although it is still steady. There is then another major leap between 1971 and 1976, when the urban population increased by 77.10%. This is accompanied by labour force expansion, but as we have shown the labour force expansion is relatively slow in the sectors where the Maori people were likely to seek and find work. The increase of the urban Maori population by 72,718 is a

massive demographic change by any standards. Out of a total population in 1976 of 270,035, this change amounted to 26.82% of the total population. No doubt natural increases would have contributed to the increased urban population, but the fall in the rural population of 30,257 in this period indicates that much of the urban increase was the result of internal migration. In other words between 1971 and 1976 over one quarter of the Maori people had become urban dwellers, either through internal migration or by natural increase. From 1976 the rate of internal migration slows, although there were significant movements of people since this time.

We will now consider the experience of Maori people in this transition period with an analysis of Ihimaera's book *The New Net Goes Fishing* (1984). The book is a series of short stories which deal with the experiences of Maori people in making the transition. The book spans a period of 20 years and focuses on Wellington and Waituhi, a small rural Maori settlement near Gisborne. The value of the book is in helping to bridge the gap in our understanding of the relationship between the changes wrought by the regime of accumulation and how this translated into individual experience. There are five main themes in the book, as follows:

1. the expectation and hope upon embarking on a new life, and the frustrations and disillusionments which result;
2. the experiences of Maori who succeed in the urban environment, which is referred to as the Pakeha world;
3. the experience of marginalised Maori;
4. the views and experiences of radical Maori;
5. Maori culture, its loss and the need for it to be regained.

In the text we are exposed to the material poverty of Maori life in rural areas, where the material base is sustained from small areas of land and seasonal work. The text shows how the Maori people have been separated from the land, which is their material and spiritual basis of life. One story deals with the pollution of a reef which was a source of food and socialising. Ihimaera's writing evokes in a powerful way feelings of anguish and agony which this loss of land causes Maori people, and how there is resignation and a sense of inevitability of their lot.

Experiences of marginality are the theme of five stories. Although the stories rarely make a self-conscious link with the broad social changes we are referring to, they have the real merit of showing what it is like to be idle, to have no ambition, to be aimless or to be hassled by the police. These experiences have become much more common as the degree of marginalisation has increased, and where young people become victims of broken marriages and relationships which have come under pressure from the tensions of urban life. These tensions were aggravated by trying, with inadequate income, to integrate into a 'Fordist' mode of consumption characterised by fluidity and fragile generation relations, which had been stronger and more enduring in the rural areas.

By reading the book it is possible to see what it is like to be relegated to the fringes of society, and it takes little imagination to recognise the tenuous hold that mechanisms of secondary regulation may have under the pressure of a 'Fordist' mode of consumption. It indicates that integration in these conditions is difficult and alternative institutional forms were needed to respond to the crisis. There is a strong tradition within Maori society to build new institutional forms to adapt to the onslaughts of the capitalist regime of accumulation. The responses to the breakdown of Maori

social forms in the face of urbanisation and incorporation into the 'Fordist' mode of consumption have recently gained momentum and strength (Jackson, 1988).

In two stories Ihimaera deals with the issue of youthful Maori male radicals. In one story a companion criticises his friend for fraternising with Pakeha in the pub. Later the two Maori males start drinking with the Pakeha and an argument develops about the relative opportunities of Maori and Pakeha. The Pakeha accuse the Maori of 'whinging' and being lazy. They, the Pakeha, must work hard for what they have and the Maori have the same chance. The implication of this argument from the point of view of the Pakeha is that integration into the 'Fordist' mode of consumption and the wage relation is an individual problem. This story highlights an important feature of the regulation of life in a modern capitalist society, which is probably a source of prejudice against the Maori by Pakeha. Integration into this form of life does require commitment and effort, but this view fails to take account of the changing nature of the wage relation, the mode of consumption and forms of secondary regulation which make integration difficult for many, including Maori people. Ihimaera's stories show how difficult integration can be for those with insecure roots in the wage relation and the mode of consumption.

In the transition from the rural situation to an urban location, and in the rapid increase in Maori population, many Maori people have been unable to integrate into urban life simply because they have lacked the cultural and material needs to become part of this way of life. The cultural orientation of Maori people was shaped by the marginal situation they occupied for many years on the fringes of the capitalist mode of production. However, it is clear now that their culture and ethnic identity as Maori has always been strong and vibrant. However, in the transition these qualities of Maori life

have tended to be swamped. The agencies of socialisation such as the education system have been unable to redress the major impediments to integration into the wage relation and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, although there has been strong ideological pressure imposed upon the education system to become the means of integration. It is unrealistic to expect this, as the problem of integration is regulated by primary and secondary regulation, and the education system is forced to react to these pressures.

There are a number of features of integration which aggravate the problem for Maori people and these matters form the core of Jackson's analysis (1988). We do not think that Jackson would quarrel with our argument in specifying the mechanisms of primary and secondary regulation, but he would stress the cultural deprivation and racism (meaning here, prejudice and subordination on account of a perceived racial identity) which accompany participation in the wage relation and secondary regulation. Jackson refers to a cycle of confinement (Jackson 1988:73) and it is this cycle of confinement, exacerbated by racism and cultural deprivation, which structures the strategic conduct of Maori persons. The contraction of the wage relation and the crisis in the intensive regime of accumulation have intensified competition for employment which in its turn makes participation in waged work more difficult.

Jackson deals with the structure of Maori family life, identifying the whanau, iwi and hapu. The basic institutional form was the whanau or extended family, which consisted of several related generations under the guidance of kaumatua and kuia, and which was responsible for the interdependent support, education and rearing of its members. Each whanau was tied by whakapapa to a hapu and iwi which gave overall organisation to its way of life (Jackson 1988:76). However, under a capitalist

society this form of family organisation has difficulty surviving, and the Maori urban family is placed under extreme pressure because of the isolation existing in the urban context. This factor needs to be added to the cycle of confinement, cultural deprivation and racism as another factor impeding social activities of Maori people in the urban context (Jackson 1988:80). We have suggested that one of the features of the predatory potential of capitalist societies is the private and individual organisation of households, which was not a feature of the regulation of traditional Maori society. We will draw upon this factor in the next Chapter when discussing the imprisonment-offending cycle as it affects Maori people.

One of the strategic responses of Maori people has been to stress in a positive way the values of Maori culture, and use the culture as a means of integrating Maori people. In this struggle the Treaty of Waitangi as a partnership agreement between Maori and Pakeha has become a central theme used to unify Maori society and provide a basis for negotiation with the government. Indeed Jackson points to the vitality of urban whanau which has developed a unique sub-stratum of New Zealand society (Jackson 1988:79). These strategies by what we will call the established segments of Maori society involve the creation of a mixture of traditional and new institutional forms as a means of integrating their people. This may not necessarily be integration into the wage relation and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. It might involve an attempt to build new institutional forms which are likely to depend more upon reciprocal forms of regulation than monetary regulation.[30] These institutional forms are likely to involve a more static and less flexible form of social activity - in other words, reducing the level or degree of fluidity. This may create a tension because many Maori who are committed to participation in waged work and the 'Fordist' mode of

consumption, and who may not be attracted to a life regulated by reciprocity and its constraints.

Our main thesis concerning Maori gangs is that the formation and emergence of gangs were, and still are, a response to the problems of integration experienced by Maori males during the transition to, and subsequent experience within, the urban context. During the early period of the transition in the 1950s and 1960s young Maori males found themselves in the urban context free from the regulation and control of their parents and elders. However, this formal freedom placed them in a state of 'social limbo' which Jackson refers to as cultural limbo (Jackson, 1988).[31] They were free from regulation and control, but lacked the means to take advantage of this freedom, in terms of the emerging 'Fordist' mode of consumption. They were excluded from, or at least not integrated into, the recreation and leisure activities of most urban dwellers. They were relegated by default to public areas for their recreation and leisure which brought them to the attention of the police. One of the important features of the offending statistics is the high degree of disorder offending. Kelsey and Young (1982) show how the strategies of the police were an integral element in accounting for the offending rates when a conscious move was made to control the leisure and recreation activities of the gangs.

Four factors of primary and secondary regulation combined in the formation of gangs in the period after about 1950. There is, firstly, the fluid nature of the social context where young Maori males were freed from the formal control of their families and elders. Secondly, the racist practices of the mainstream society and the cultural deprivation (Jackson, 1988) impeded integration into the mainstream. The third feature is the lack of money value to participate in the rising and changing consumption norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

The fourth factor concerns the activities of the police in moving to restrict the leisure and recreation activities of these persons in the public domain (Kelsey and Young, 1982).

The general tendency of the wage relation, and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption is to increase the incidence and importance of individualism. However, the dominant form of individualism today requires the private and individual use of the means of consumption. Some of the young Maori who were caught up in the transition were, however, unable to become individuals in this sense. As one young Maori person said to the writer during the course of an interview, "when you are young and in Wellington without a job, your options are pretty limited". The gangs are a collective response to forces which on the one hand fragment and individualise people, yet restrict and impede their capacity to be individual participants in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. As such the formation of gangs represents a tendency contrary to individualism. The formation of Maori gangs at this time, in other words, was a collective response to the problems faced by some persons in the fluid and mobile conditions of modern life. It is these fluid and mobile conditions which present the formation of collective organisations like gangs with one of their major dilemmas. The dilemma is how to develop a collective commitment from diverse individuals in the face of tendencies which individualise people?

The building of collective identity by the gangs faces opposition from traditional forms of authority within the Maori world who impose pressures upon young persons committing themselves to a gang (Fleras, 1980). There are also competing demands from different gangs for the loyalty and commitment of members. The rivalry between The Mongrel Mob and Black Power is the best example here. The awarding of 'Patches' is a central feature of the

regulation of the gang as an institutional form. The 'Patch' is the gang emblem, and much importance is attached to the awarding of it. An initiatory period is required in order to be granted one, and its award means the person concerned has demonstrated staunchness to the gang and is worthy of recognition. The fact that gang members make a virtue out of their alienation from mainstream society is significant. The Mongrel Mob have inverted and elevated the usual meaning of the term mongrel to one of honour. The clothes the gang member wear and the intimidating way they conduct themselves are a reflection of the degree and magnitude of their alienation from mainstream society.

The emergence of gangs and their continued operation occurs, therefore, at the interface of a series of competing and contradictory forces. The recruitment and control of gang members is a competitive activity and a source of violent conflict between the gangs. The major contestants are, as we have identified, the rival gangs, the traditional Maori authority structures and the law enforcement agencies as the representatives of mainstream society. It is in these contradictory and competing forces that the strategic conduct of the gangs is formulated. It is these same forces which structure the context for the strategic conduct of individuals as to whether to join a gang or not.

The advantages of gang membership relate to exclusion from the wage relation and impediments to the individual and private use of the means of consumption. The gang provides an alternative collective form of activity which demands the commitment and loyalty of the member. Some gangs have been able, at least on occasions, to provide alternative employment in the face of high unemployment, but with many work schemes having been discontinued this option has been reduced since 1984. The gang also

provides accommodation, and upon release from prison the gang will pick up and care for released prisoners.

We do not want to create the impression, however, that the gangs are necessarily typical of all younger Maori males. In fact they represent a small proportion of Maori males between 15 and 30 years of age. The latest attempt at estimating the numbers in gangs puts the figure at 6,550 gang members in 49 gangs. In 1986 the police estimated the numbers in gangs at 2,209 persons. These include Maori gangs, and motorcycle gangs not all whom are Maori (Christchurch Press, 13 March 1990). If we assume that in 1981, which is a mid-point of the current period, there were 2,000 Maori gang members then it would seem that Maori gang members constituted approximately 5.75% of the Maori males between 15 and 30 years of age. It seems clear, however, that many gangs have grown in numbers reflecting the growing intensity of the exclusion tendency and the predatory potential of society in just the last few years.

8. Summary

The appropriation and substitution strategies of accumulation in land-based food and fibre production involving the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process stand at the heart of the internal migration of Maori people from the rural areas to towns and cities. The major shifts of people occurred at the time when growth in the labour force was beginning to slow in the labouring sectors of factory production, construction and transport. These were the sectors of production to which the Maori people, because of limited training and skills, were relegated. The Maori people entered the towns and cities in large numbers, experienced trouble with housing and other amenities and had no established institutional forms available to them, as well as facing indifference and

sometimes hostility from Pakeha New Zealanders. These changes occurred at a time when the mode of consumption was undergoing rapid change and when, as we have suggested, New Zealand society was becoming more fluid. Three source of breakdown can be identified. Firstly, the normal misfortunes of social life were more difficult to cope with in the urban environment and this excluded households from participation in waged work, jeopardising participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. Secondly, the sectors of production into which Maori people were moving to work were beginning to contract and this added to the problems associated with participation in waged work. Thirdly, was the loss of cultural identity which disrupted many Maori people in the urban situation. A feature of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption is that it creates a formal freedom, but this freedom is illusory if people lack adequate income. This illusory freedom has resulted in the formation of gangs by some Maori males as they have responded collectively. Many other Maori did not join gangs but became part of the underground economy, and we will deal more fully with these responses and their form, in the next Chapter.

9. Conclusions

In this Chapter we have considered the question of secondary regulation, which has involved an analysis of the institutional forms, and the content of the moral and normative order which regulates social activities. Our thesis has been that the institutional forms and the content of the moral and normative order are regulated and governed by the forces of primary regulation. We have dealt with this issue in the period between 1920 and the mid-eighties, and the most striking feature of the analysis is the major transformation in the nature and form of secondary regulation in the two periods. In both periods we have sought to identify the links between the regime of accumulation, the wage-labour nexus and the

forces of secondary regulation. In the 1920s and 1930s the organisation of social life was described as pre-'Fordist', and we identified a set of institutional forms which mediated a dominant puritan moral and normative order. This moral and normative order was enforceable against all but the most marginal and excluded persons. On the other hand, social life under the intensive regime of accumulation and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption involved two main changes which affected secondary regulation. The dominance of the puritan moral normative order is replaced by consumerism, which is accompanied by the emergence of a more fluid and ephemeral society. In this situation the institutional forms which regulated social life in the 1920s and 1930s are no longer able to enforce a puritan moral order. Consumption replaces the honour of work as the dominant aspiration and desire.

Notes

1. Table 6.1 was constructed using data from the 1921, 1926 and 1936 Census of the labour force. The labour force for each year was coded in accordance with the sectors of the regime of accumulation which we identified in Chapter Three. In order to prepare a time series we assumed a uniform growth or contraction between census dates in each of the sectors. This is likely to be reasonably accurate for the period between 1921 and 1926. However, the serious disruption to the wage relation in the depression of the early 1930s means that our Table for the period after 1926 is suggestive only. We chose to use 1928 as a year to highlight as it coincided with the 1928 National Industrial Conference of that year.

2. The question of how disapproval was expressed is not considered here, as we are concentrating upon the content of the order and the institutions which mediated the order. Therborn (1980) deals with the nature of ideologies and their various dimensions which are

inherent in and form the basis of interaction. Therborn's study provides a useful guide as to the content of ideologies and the way in which meaning is signified.

3. For an account of the welfare provisions available in this period see Oliver in Trlin (1977).

4. Fairbairn (1989) argues that the itinerant labour force was part of an atomised society which accompanied colonial settlement, and which persisted up until the about 1920, from which time New Zealand society became more orderly and settled. Our thesis does not contradict this argument. In fact our claim about the inflexible nature of social organisation in the 1920s is consistent with Fairbairn.

5. Pahl (1984 and 1988) is representative of a tradition who have considered these alternative strategies as 'getting by' self-provisioning, alternative forms of exchange and an informal economy. This literature considers these questions in a more general way than we have, whereas our focus is the specific question of social regulation and predatory activity.

6. It is important to recognise the causal order we are arguing for here. The primary forces are the regime of accumulation and the wage-labour nexus, which translated into a moral and normative order of condemnation of the excluded. This moral and normative order reinforced the exclusion which had its origins in the primary regulatory forces.

7. Our remarks are general in nature, and the degree of interaction among households was probably much stronger within working-class neighbourhoods than in petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie areas.

8. Phillips (1987) is the latest work to examine the prohibition movement, and he does so in relation to male images. He makes the point that the wandering itinerant labour force were the major focus of moral panic in relation to their lifestyle which involved the consumption of alcohol. The struggle between the two elements has had an important bearing upon the regulation of New Zealand society in relation to the consumption of alcohol and recreation and leisure in general. See also Bollinger (1967).

9. Phillips (1987) draws upon these same texts in his work on male culture in New Zealand.

10. Between 1945 and 1951 the labour force expanded by 106,074 persons, with immigration and returned servicemen accounting for much of the growth.

11. The settlement of ex-servicemen was administered in accordance with the Rehabilitation Act 1941 which established a Rehabilitation Board and a National Rehabilitation Council. The scheme was involved in the training and financing of ex-servicemen in relation to their participation in the economic life of New Zealand society. By the 31 March 1950 8,471 had been settled on farms, education facilities had been extended to 46,385, and total funds advanced between the end of the war and 31 March 1950 were in excess of $146 million (New Zealand Year Book, 1952).

12. In this period which Dunstall (1984) refers to there was not a major shift in the mode of consumption, and the norms of the limited mode of consumption were within the grasp of all, but the remnants of the under-class. The institutions which had bound New Zealand society during the depression were still able to enforce conformity upon people. The prosperity in relation to the limited mode of consumption was conducive to the fostering of beliefs

and attitudes of equality. In this period there was a material basis for these beliefs and attitudes.

13. In this period there is no separate record of wage rates based on age. Most industrial awards rated wages on the basis of the occupation except for the case of apprentices and others undergoing training. The wage rates of adults and adolescents accordingly moved closer together.

14. The desire to obtain a car was a major preoccupation with young males in this period, and the author as a university student found it hard to make do without a car when all of his friends had 'a set of wheels'.

15. The setting up of the Mazengarb committee in 1954 gave many persons the opportunity to express their concerns about the moral laxity of the emerging generation, and the beginnings of a more fluid and spatially mobile society were making some people uneasy about the direction and regulation of New Zealand society.

16. The Mazengarb report is analysed by Soler (1989)

17. See Note 14 Chapter Five.

18. Total charges brought against juveniles in the Children's Court for the following years indicates a steady build-up in juvenile offending: 1951 3,230; 1961 10,460; 1971 25,638.

19. See Tables 5.16 and 5.17 of Chapter Five.

20. Alienation and anomie in Marx's and Durkheim's terms respectively were present during the 1920s and 1930s, and we have attempted to indicate the nature of these alienating and anomic conditions in our discussion of the

forces which we identified as present in the literary texts analysed.

21. The major predatory identity with which we are concerned is 'Joe Swinger' which is a term we have coined to describe the attitudes and beliefs of the young offender involved in drugs and dishonesty offending and who rejects the contribution norms of our society. There are a number of identities who share the general position of 'Joe Swinger', such as skin heads, and the members of Maori and other gangs. In addition there are those who are part of the 'underground economy', but who are successful in masking their involvement, or who manage activities such as night-clubs, massage parlours and strip joints.

22. Of those profiled, Colin, was in prison for serious violence associated with the enforcement of drug debts, and Kevin carried a weapon as protection in case drug deals went sour. Both Dave and Steve spoke freely of the violence which was often required to discipline the activities of those involved in the 'underground economy'. The television series Minder which deals with activities bordering on the 'underground economy' makes clear the relationship between the operation of an 'underground economy' and predatory activity.

23. The Holmes Show (Television New Zealand) on Monday 23 April 1990 dealt with the protection of the clubs in Auckland, where there were allegations of standover tactics used in the regulation of predatory recreation and leisure.

24. The Christchurch Press on 14 March 1990 reported on the establishment of an insurance company which planned to use gang members to protect peoples' property. One Member of Parliament suggested that this proposal smacked of the Mafia.

25. See Part Two of Chapter Four.

26. The author was trying help one of those killed to establish a business. He was stabbed at a party and died within minutes.

27. The Police have been the major initiators of the Neighbourhood Support scheme in an attempt to increase the security of neighbourhoods. The formation of these groups is symptomatic of the fluid and mobile society which we have argued characterises New Zealand society. These groups are one of numerous volunteer support groups which have sprung up to replace the solidarity which existed in the 1920s and 1930s and even through until the mid-1960s. Most local authorities employ community workers whose responsibility it is to foster social institutions within their areas. These efforts are required as a means of establishing social institutions which the exchange form of regulation destroys.

28. See Table 6.3 at note 29.

29. We note the argument in Miles (1984) which gives the impression that the expansion in the labour force after 1945 was largely dependent on Maori internal migration. This is not correct, as by the time the internal migration of Maori people gains momentum, the growth in the labour force is beginning to slow and later contracts in the sectors in which Maori people were seeking work. In the Table 6.3 we set out the distribution of the Maori labour force between 1951 and 1981 across the different sectors of the labour force. The Maori labour force amounted to 32,604 persons in 1951, and they were concentrated in the agriculture, construction and services sector. The main growth in the Maori labour force has been in the forestry and paper production branches of intermediate goods production, in the construction, in the metals and machinery sectors

involved in the performance of transformation tasks relative to transfer technologies, in the industrial food complex (meat freezing), in transport and communications and in state services. These represent sectors in the 'Fordist' core of the regime of accumulation, apart from state services. It is clear, however, that the growth of employment among the Maori was greatest from the 1960s onwards. Between 1951 and 1961 the Maori labour force grew by 15,214, whereas the overall growth in the total labour force was 156,808. The Maori people contributed 9.70% to the growth of the labour force in his period. The contribution made by Maori people in this period was in the construction, industrial food complex and transport sectors. On the other hand, the growth in the Maori labour force between 1961 and 1971 was 24,352, and accounted for 11.20% of the growth in of the labour force. In the period between 1961 and 1971 the major growth in the labour force was in the state services

Table 6.3 Distribution of the Maori Labour Force Across Sectors of the Regime of Accumulation, 1951, 1961, 1971 and 1981.

	1951	1961	1971	1981
INTERMEDIATE GOODS	2,135	3,908	6,241	10,068
CONSTRUCTION	6,114	9,782	11,291	11,592
METALS,MACHINERY	683	1,698	4,275	6,798
AGRICULTURE	9,973	9,360	7,876	10,230
FOOD	2,886	5,330	9,820	12,573
TEXTILES	1,075	1,959	5,199	4,383
H/HOLD DUR/OPERATIONS	166	414	742	1,239
WHOLESALE/RETAIL	818	1,687	5,486	8,451
FINANCE	106	69	684	1,668
SERVICES	4,033	5,712	1,313	1,857
RECREATION	141	159	299	1,134
TRANSPORT COMM	2,769	5,553	9,073	9,936
STATE SERVICES	754	1,322	6,470	15,372
NOT SPECIFIED	951	865	3,401	9,987
TOTAL	32,604	47,818	72,170	105,288

Source: New Zealand Census, 1951, 1961, 1971 and 1981

sector, but generally, Maori people were not absorbed so readily into service sectors. It is interesting to note that the greatest growth in the Maori labour force between 1971 and 1981 was in the state services sector. The major barrier facing Maori people in relation to participation in waged labour has been the contraction in the industrial sectors and the expansion of the service sectors, where access by Maori people has been impeded. It seems clear that our point about the internal migration of Maori people having occurred later than is often supposed is correct, and that the major moves occurred when the forces of primary regulation were beginning to break down. Spoonley (1990) makes the same error as Miles.

30. The establishment of Urban Marae which are multi-tribal is probably the most obvious example of new institutional forms emerging to regulate and meet the needs of Maori people in the urban situation.

31. We had used the term social vacuum before reading Jackson (1988). It seems to us that we are both expressing much the same experience, but using different theoretical tools.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE IMPRISONMENT-OFFENDING CYCLE

In this Chapter we will review the imprisonment-offending cycle between 1923 and 1985. In 1985 the Criminal Justice Amendment Act was passed which altered the basis of sentencing in relation to imprisonment. Under this Act the emphasis of the courts in relation to imprisonment was to be limited to cases of violence, unless there was no other appropriate penalty for non-violent offending. Changes to the penal population are apparently occurring, but it is too soon to be clear about the nature of these changes. We will therefore conclude our study in the mid-eighties.

1. The Imprisonment-Offending Cycle in the 1920s and 1930s

a. Introduction

In Chapter Six we argued that in the 1920s and 1930s there were two groups in New Zealand society who occupied a marginal and excluded location within society to the extent that they were beyond the range of the forces of secondary regulation. Indeed, their marginality was such that they felt no commitment to the dominant moral and normative order and they lived a predatory existence at the margins of New Zealand society. These two groups consisted of itinerant labouring men and marginalised urban dwellers. Both of these groups were affected by the changing nature of the wage relation and formed part of what we described as an under-class.

Some of these persons lived squalid, sordid and miserable lives, and their offending was concentrated upon disorder and dishonesty offending. The depression of the 1930s

caused widespread social disruption, but as we argued, the forces of secondary regulation were secure enough to restrict the rates of offending to what now seem modest levels, although they were high by the standards of the time. The limited consumption norms of the time, and the limited development of the forces of production meant that the predatory potential of New Zealand society was low. Those who did not contribute to social needs were condemned to a life which was squalid and sordid. The potential for predatory recreation and leisure was limited to after-hours trading of hotels, to sly-grogging, to bookmaking and to prostitution. These activities operated on a small scale and posed no real threat to the order and stability of New Zealand society. Neither did they involve the need for widespread predatory violence, which has characterised much of the reproduction of predatory recreation and leisure in the current period.[1]

In order to understand the nature of the pattern of offending and imprisonment in this period, we have developed a series of Tables from three main sources. The first concerns offences reported to the police, the second refers to total charges brought in the Magistrate's/District Courts and the third source of data are the offences and ages of prisoners received into prison. On the basis of this data we specify the pattern of crime which the criminal justice system reacted to, and the form of the imprisonment-offending cycle is outlined. One of the more important considerations will be the changing configuration of this cycle, but we will concentrate in this section on the nature of the cycle in the period between 1923 and 1936. In developing the Tables we have shown the number of offences involved in each category, and then the rate of offences per 10,000 of the population.

Our principal focus will be on serious violence, disorder violence, drugs, disorder and dishonesty offences.[2] In Table 7.1 we have shown the rate per 10,000 of the population of each of these categories and the percentage of each category in relation to the overall pattern of offences reported to the police. We have also included the rate for traffic offences which were not listed as a

Table 7.1 Rates Per 10,000 and Percentages of Offences Reported to the Police for Serious Violence, Disorder Violence, Disorder, Dishonesty and Traffic Offending, 1923 to 1936.

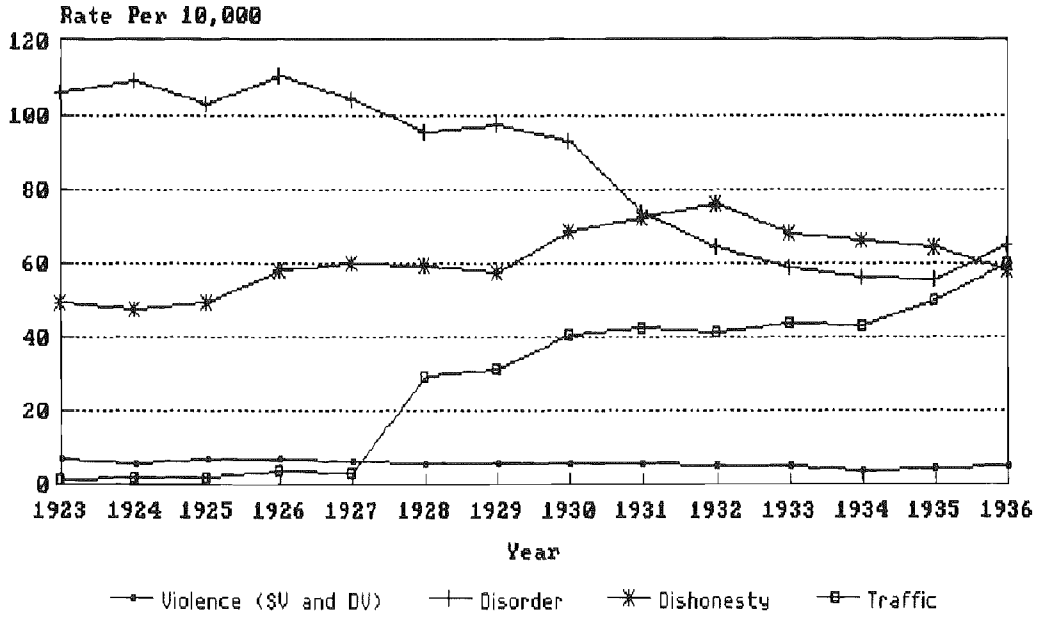
YEAR	SERIOUS VIOLENCE	DISORDER VIOLENCE	DISORDER	DISHONESTY	TRAFFIC
1923	0.60	6.38	105.76	49.00	0.99
1924	0.53	5.11	109.31	47.48	1.62
1925	0.54	6.42	102.55	49.44	2.08
1926	0.77	6.04	110.46	57.81	3.54
1927	0.75	5.53	104.06	59.66	3.00
1928	1.11	4.69	95.27	59.38	29.34
1929	1.17	4.67	97.43	57.45	31.15
1930	1.40	4.42	92.87	68.62	40.70
1931	1.17	4.18	73.80	72.16	42.14
1932	1.02	3.92	64.24	76.11	40.90
1933	1.01	3.94	58.83	68.22	43.55
1934	1.09	2.84	56.24	66.26	43.07
1935	0.99	3.15	55.50	64.00	49.79
1936	1.14	3.83	64.62	57.76	59.88
PERCENTAGES					
1923	0.29	3.08	50.98	23.62	0.48
1924	0.25	2.44	52.18	22.67	0.78
1925	0.24	2.80	44.78	21.59	0.91
1926	0.34	2.65	48.56	25.41	1.56
1927	0.34	2.51	47.14	27.03	1.36
1928	0.46	1.96	39.87	24.85	12.28
1929	0.48	1.91	39.89	23.52	12.76
1930	0.54	1.69	35.50	26.23	15.55
1931	0.48	1.72	30.36	29.69	17.34
1932	0.44	1.69	27.71	32.83	17.64
1933	0.46	1.81	27.04	31.36	20.02
1934	0.52	1.36	26.96	31.77	20.65
1935	0.47	1.48	26.11	30.11	23.43
1936	0.51	1.70	28.59	25.55	26.49

Source: AJHR H17, 1923 to 1936

separate category prior to the 1920s but which increased dramatically in the 1920s and 1930s. Our reason for including traffic offending will become clear as we proceed.

The important trends shown in Table 7.1 are the falling rate and percentage of disorder offending and disorder violence, the comparative stability of dishonesty offences which rise during the depression of the thirties and the relative stability of serious violence. The major change concerns the growth of traffic offences which approximates the drop in the disorder categories. The rate of dishonesty offending rises from 49.00 per 10,000 to 57.16 per 10,000, but it reaches a peak during the depression in 1932 of 76.11 per 10,000. By contrast disorder offending drops significantly from 105.76 to 64.62 per 10,000 (see also Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1 Rates Per 10,000 of Violence (SV and DV), Disorder, Dishonesty and Traffic Offences Reported to the Police, 1923 to 1936.



Source: AJHR H11 1924 to 1937

Table 7.2 shows the total charges brought in the Magistrate's Court. The same pattern as in Table 7.1 is repeated here, but the drop in total charges of disorder offences is not as dramatic as the offences reported to the police. Based upon rates per 10,000 the drop is from 132.34 to 77.53 in 1936 with the rate going under this in the depression. The lowest point being 1934 when the

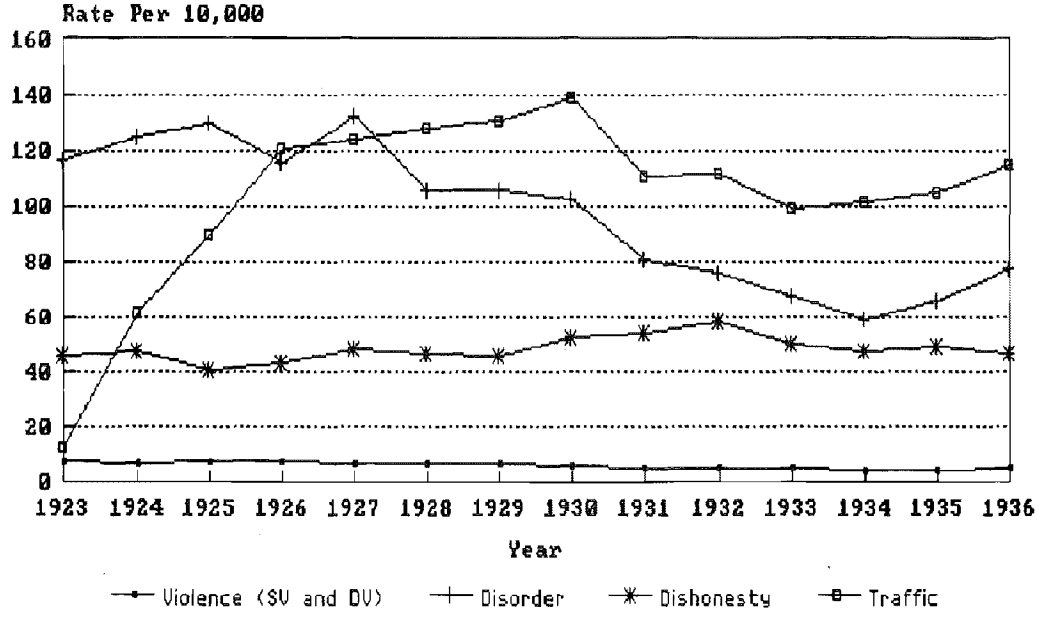
Table 7.2 Rates Per 10,000 and Percentages of Total Charges Brought in Magistrate's Court for Serious Violence, Disorder Violence, Disorder, Dishonesty and Traffic Offences, 1923 to 1936.

YEAR	SERIOUS VIOLENCE	DISORDER VIOLENCE	DISORDER	DISHONESTY	TRAFFIC
1923	0.69	6.52	116.68	46.06	12.87
1924	0.70	5.95	124.85	47.07	61.34
1925	0.62	7.22	129.90	40.49	89.85
1926	0.86	7.02	115.30	43.52	120.92
1927	0.61	6.42	132.34	48.13	123.72
1928	0.72	5.65	105.46	46.85	128.13
1929	1.03	5.36	105.28	46.11	130.18
1930	0.81	5.05	102.12	52.06	139.14
1931	0.85	4.50	80.48	53.88	110.30
1932	0.90	4.08	75.23	58.18	111.45
1933	1.00	4.30	66.94	50.15	99.25
1934	0.70	3.62	58.98	47.15	101.63
1935	0.55	3.53	66.00	49.20	105.07
1936	0.63	4.01	77.53	46.54	114.34
PERCENTAGES					
1923	0.23	2.17	38.82	15.32	4.28
1924	0.23	1.98	41.56	15.67	20.42
1925	0.15	1.73	31.15	9.71	21.54
1926	0.21	1.68	27.56	10.40	28.90
1927	0.15	1.55	31.84	11.58	29.77
1928	0.17	1.37	25.65	11.40	31.16
1929	0.25	1.30	25.61	11.22	31.67
1930	0.19	1.20	24.19	12.33	32.96
1931	0.23	1.23	21.97	14.71	30.10
1932	0.24	1.10	20.28	15.68	30.04
1933	0.30	1.28	19.97	14.96	29.61
1934	0.22	1.12	18.20	14.55	31.36
1935	0.16	1.05	19.60	14.61	31.21
1936	0.18	1.11	21.54	12.93	31.76

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1923 to 1936

number of charges fell to 58.98 per 10,000. The rates of charges for dishonesty offences and traffic offences take the same trajectory as for those offences reported to the police (see Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2 Rates Per 10,000 of Total Charges Brought in the Magistrate's Court for violence (SV and DV), Disorder, Dishonesty and Traffic offences, 1923 to 1936.



Source: AJHR H11 1924 to 1937

Table 7.3 shows the numbers received into prison, the rate per 10,000 of the population and percentage of persons received as prisoners for each category. We have shown the five categories we are primarily concerned with, namely serious violence, disorder violence, drugs, disorder and dishonesty, as well as the category of traffic offending (see also Figure 7.3). Table 7.3 does not distinguish between gender, age or ethnic differences. The overwhelming majority of prisoners were men. Maori persons were a small minority of the penal population at this time compared with the experience

Table 7.3 Number of Persons Received as Prisoners, Rate Per 10,000 of Each Category and Percentages of all Prisoners Received for Serious Violence (SV), Disorder Violence (DV), Drugs, Disorder, Dishonesty (DISHON.), Traffic (TRAF.) and Total Offences, 1923 to 1936.

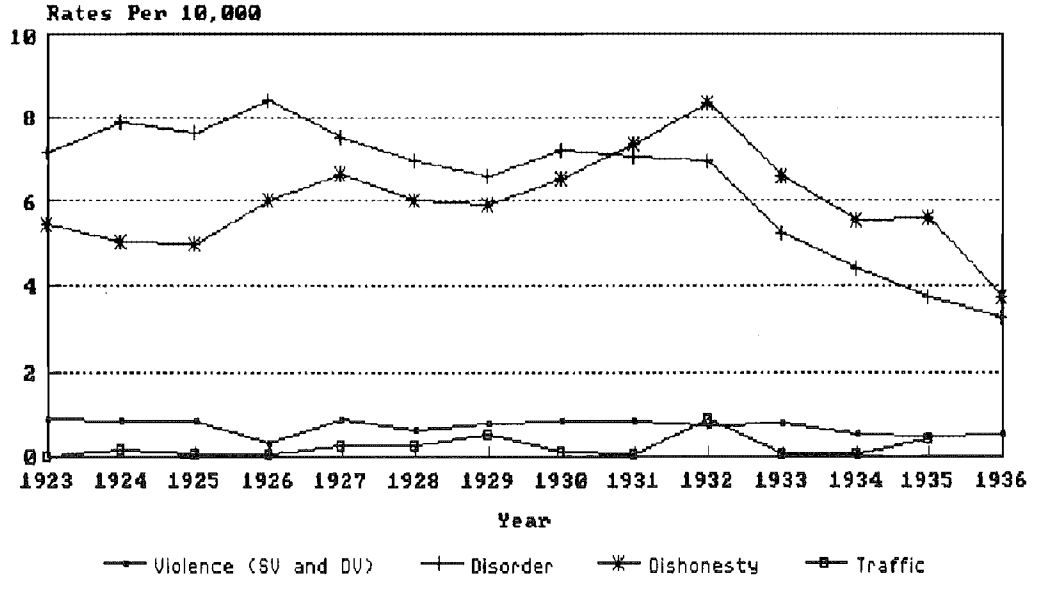
YEAR	SV	DV	DRUGS	DISORDER	DISHON.	TRAF.	TOT.
NUMBERS							
1923	24	84	6	899	686	0	2,244
1924	22	87	5	1,010	648	21	2,405
1925	11	100	5	994	652	31	2,890
1926	22	17	3	1,123	808	5	2,755
1927	18	102	5	1,024	900	4	2,711
1928	17	67	7	963	832	33	2,548
1929	16	92	21	921	824	37	2,596
1930	32	83	12	1,017	925	72	2,864
1931	34	91	15	1,057	1,108	15	3,203
1932	21	88	53	1,059	1,266	10	3,401
1933	32	88	28	807	1,013	132	2,731
1934	20	63	29	683	860	7	2,376
1935	17	58	32	584	871	5	2,158
1936	18	65	5	510	583	66	1,790
RATE PER 10,000							
1923	0.19	0.67	0.05	7.15	5.45	0.00	17.84
1924	0.17	0.68	0.04	7.89	5.06	0.16	18.78
1925	0.08	0.77	0.04	7.61	4.99	0.24	22.13
1926	0.16	0.13	0.02	8.40	6.04	0.04	20.60
1927	0.13	0.75	0.04	7.54	6.63	0.03	19.97
1928	0.12	0.49	0.05	6.98	6.03	0.24	18.48
1929	0.11	0.66	0.15	6.60	5.91	0.27	18.61
1930	0.23	0.59	0.09	7.21	6.55	0.51	20.29
1931	0.23	0.61	0.10	7.05	7.39	0.10	21.38
1932	0.14	0.58	0.35	6.98	8.34	0.07	22.41
1933	0.21	0.58	0.18	5.27	6.62	0.86	17.85
1934	0.13	0.41	0.19	4.43	5.57	0.05	15.40
1935	0.11	0.37	0.21	3.76	5.60	0.03	13.88
1936	0.11	0.42	0.03	3.26	3.72	0.42	11.44
PERCENTAGE							
1923	1.07	3.74	0.27	40.06	30.57	0.00	100.00
1924	0.91	3.62	0.21	42.00	26.94	0.87	100.00
1925	0.38	3.46	0.17	34.39	22.56	1.07	100.00
1926	0.80	0.62	0.11	40.76	29.33	0.18	100.00
1927	0.66	3.76	0.18	37.77	33.20	0.15	100.00
1928	0.67	2.63	0.27	37.79	32.65	1.30	100.00
1929	0.62	3.54	0.81	35.48	31.74	1.43	100.00
1930	1.12	2.90	0.42	35.51	32.30	2.51	100.00
1931	1.06	2.84	0.47	33.00	34.59	0.47	100.00
1932	0.62	2.59	1.56	31.14	37.22	0.29	100.00
1933	1.17	3.22	1.03	29.55	37.09	4.83	100.00
1934	0.84	2.65	1.22	28.75	36.20	0.29	100.00
1935	0.79	2.69	1.48	27.06	40.36	0.23	100.00
1936	1.01	3.63	0.28	28.49	32.57	3.69	100.00

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1923 to 1936

during the period after 1945, particularly from the mid-sixties onwards.

An analysis of the Tables dealing with prisoners received shows that the rates of imprisonment rose during the years 1923 to 1925. The substantial rise in 1925 is accounted for by the imprisonment of 500 British seamen sentenced to short terms of imprisonment for illegal industrial action.

Figure 7.3 Rates Per 10,000 of Persons Received as Prisoners for Violence (SV and DV), Disorder, Dishonesty and Traffic Offences, 1923 to 1936.



Source: AJHR H11 1924 to 1937

If we discount what for our purposes is an abnormal situation in 1925 we see that the rise in imprisonment rates continues during 1926 and 1927, although the rate in 1927 is slightly lower than in 1926. The rate then fell in 1928 and 1929, to rise once again from 1930 to 1932. The tendency thereafter is for the rate to fall until the onset of war in 1939. There is, however, throughout this whole period of the 1920s and 1930s a

solid core of imprisonment, never lower than 15.40 per 10,000, apart from the years 1935 and 1936.

This solid core of imprisonment is dominated by disorder and dishonesty offending. The tendency is for the incidence of those imprisoned for disorder offending to fall whereas the incidence of those imprisoned for dishonesty offending rises. Dishonesty offending reaches a peak of 40.36% of the prisoners received in 1935, but this is at a point when the numbers of prisoners received falls and when the rate of dishonesty offending also falls. During the latter part of this period dishonesty offending makes a larger contribution to the penal population than disorder offences. This is a trend which continues to 1985.

Throughout this first period of the 1920s and 1930s, violent offending is a comparatively minor offence meriting imprisonment. Serious cases of violence never amount to more than 1.17% of offending and very often it is under 1.0%. Most serious violence was related to domestic quarrels and brawls, drinking and fighting. Serious violence cases usually related to the unintended consequences of disputes and quarrels rather than being part of a criminal lifestyle which characterises serious violence in the period from 1970 onwards, as we will show in due course.

b. <u>Disorder and Disorder Violence Offending</u>

Disorder offending involves the interaction of the police and disorderly recreation and leisure activities. The rate is determined largely by the extent to which the police intervene to control recreation and leisure. In the 1920s and 1930s disorder offending was the largest category of offending, although its importance was beginning to fall relative to dishonesty offending. The emphasis upon disorder offending in the statistics is

related to colonisation of New Zealand by Europeans in the nineteenth century. The settlement of New Zealand depended upon the labour of many itinerant men who moved around the country in search of work. These men had few domestic ties and spent much of their leisure hours drinking. Drunkenness was widespread, and the problem of alcohol consumption sparked off the temperance and prohibition movements which were very strong in New Zealand. The itinerant, footloose men became the major focus of the attention of the police (Fairbairn, 1989).

By the 1920s New Zealand was more settled, and as we have seen from our analysis of secondary regulation in Chapter Six, conformity was enforced upon all but the most marginalised. At the same time changes in the wage relation marginalised a significant number of men, mainly labourers who moved from sector to sector in search of labouring work. The control and discipline of these marginal men was still a major concern for the police, but the emphasis upon the control and discipline of this group was lessening and other problems of social control emerged with the changing character of New Zealand society (Phillips, 1987; Fairbairn, 1989; Olssen, 1984).

The relatively high incidence of disorder offences suggests that those involved were visible to the police, and in some way were a nuisance. It also suggests that these persons were perceived as a threat because they had no fixed abode, and were not pulling their weight in terms of their contribution to the needs of society (Phillips, 1987). This is consistent with the leisure activity of persons who have no fixed place of residence, and whose leisure takes place within the surveillance of the police. As the number of itinerant persons is reduced, and people take on a stable place of residence, they remove themselves from the surveillance of the police.[3] The dramatic reduction in the incidence of drunkenness might suggest a dramatic drop in the

consumption of alcohol, but this is not the case except for a drop during the depression of the 1930s.[4]

The extent and degree of intervention into the leisure and recreation area by the police was dependent on two main factors. Firstly, there were the demands made upon the labour time of the police in other spheres of their operations. The second factor concerns the way in which social relations between capital and labour were poised, relative to the struggle over surplus value. These two factors are closely linked and both were involved in the changing rate of disorder offending during the 1920s and 1930s.

We will consider first the demands made upon the labour time of the police in relation to dishonesty and traffic offending. Traffic offending expanded considerably during the second part of the 1920s and even during the depression. The demands of traffic control absorbed much of the labour time that the police might otherwise have devoted to disorder control. The emergence of traffic offending is directly related to the changing nature of the organisation of transportation from collective to private forms of transport, which involved a major change in the pattern of social control. It also involved a different group of persons being brought into the net of social control. The drop in the distribution of labour time that disorder offending absorbed was replaced by labour time absorbed by traffic control, and these figures are shown in Table 7.4.

If we examine the labour time of the police which is absorbed by dishonesty offending we can see how there is a relationship between the disorder rate and the dishonesty rates. During the 1920s and 1930s the tendency is for dishonesty offending to rise, but then the rising trend is reversed from 1932, with quite a

Table 7.4 Rates of Offences Reported to the Police Per 10,000 Hours of Police Labour Time for Serious Violence (SV), Disorder Violence (DV), Disorder, Dishonesty (DISHON.) and Traffic (TRAF.) Offences, and the Ratio of Total Hours of Police Labour Time to the Total Population, 1923 to 1936.

YEAR	SV	DV	DISORDER	DISHON.	TRAF.	POLICE LABOUR TIME: POPULATION
1923	0.30	3.22	53.31	24.70	0.50	1.88
1924	0.27	2.57	54.91	23.85	0.82	1.89
1925	0.28	3.30	60.61	25.42	1.07	1.84
1926	0.38	2.98	54.50	28.52	1.75	1.92
1927	0.37	2.74	51.63	29.60	1.49	1.90
1928	0.56	2.37	48.29	30.10	14.87	1.87
1929	0.59	2.36	49.24	29.04	15.74	1.88
1930	0.72	2.26	47.38	35.01	20.76	1.86
1931	0.62	2.21	38.94	38.08	22.24	1.88
1932	0.54	2.09	34.26	40.59	21.81	1.87
1933	0.52	2.04	30.48	35.35	22.56	1.92
1934	0.60	1.58	31.23	36.80	23.92	1.79
1935	0.59	1.89	33.29	38.39	29.86	1.66
1936	0.69	2.30	38.75	34.64	35.91	1.66

Source: New Zealand Year Books, 1925 to 1938; AJHR H17 1924 to 1937[5]

dramatic drop in 1936. In 1936 we notice that disorder offending increased reversing the trend prior to this point. The falling trend of dishonesty offending continued until 1955. However, the rise in the disorder rate occurs throughout the remainder of the 1930s until the war years intervene.

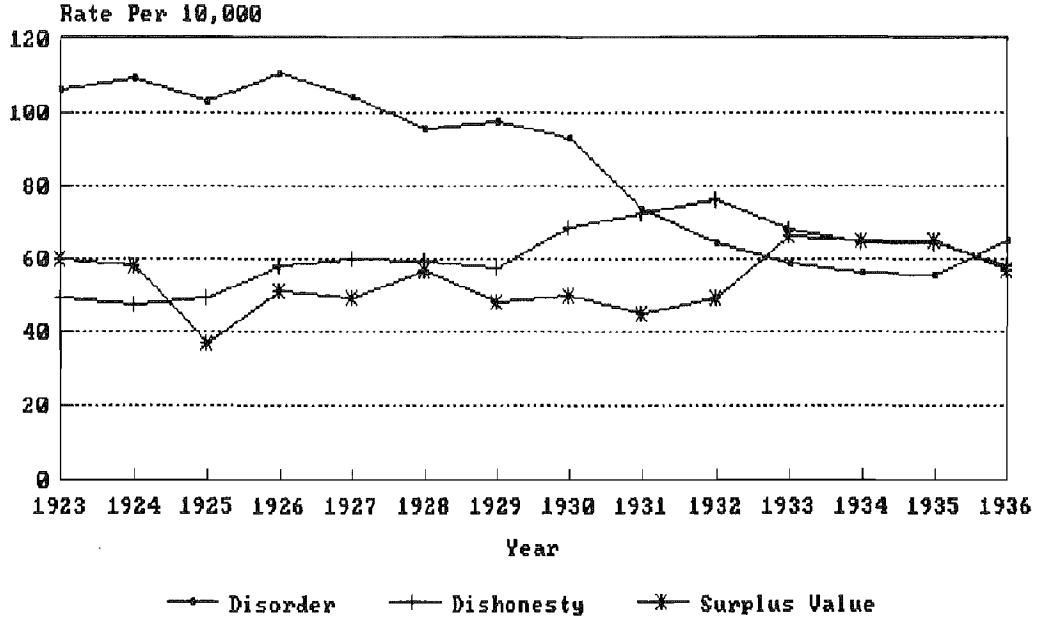
An examination of the rising and declining nature of dishonesty offending brings into focus the changing nature of the balance of class forces during this period. Dishonesty offending is a negation of the fair exchange principle of regulation. It also involves a disruption of the quiet enjoyment of possessions. Dishonesty is, among other things, one method through which individuals gain access to the means of consumption.

The changing nature of offence patterns in the 1920s and 1930s also reflects the way in which the social relations between capital and labour are poised relative to the struggle over surplus value. When the rate of surplus value falls there is a tendency for the rate of disorder offending to increase in the period following the fall in surplus value. The police respond to a need on behalf of capital to impose a more rigorous discipline upon the disorderly elements. This is reflected in 1925 when the rate of surplus value fell. In this year the rate of dishonesty offences reported to the police increased, but the total charges brought in the Magistrate's Court decreased. In 1925 the clearance level for dishonesty was lower than in other years, suggesting that the police were devoting their energies to disorder offences. In 1926 the rate of surplus value rose, whereas the rate of disorder offending decreased in the following year, and the clearance rate of dishonesty offences improved (reflected in an increase in dishonesty cases brought in the Magistrate's Court) as the police eased their surveillance of recreation activities.

The other factor affecting the pressures impacting upon the predatory under-class, and which we alluded to above, concerns the falling demand for labour power and the build-up of unemployment. In these conditions many households were unable to obtain enough work over the year to meet the consumption norms of the time. This impacted most intensely upon the least able. Throughout this period, but particularly from 1926, the rate of dishonesty offending increased, and this class of offending absorbed more and more of the police labour time. In 1929 there was a fall in the specific price of the limited consumption basket, and a reduction in the rate of dishonesty offences occurred. We notice a marginal increase in the rate of disorder offending, as the demands of police labour time for dishonesty offending drop, allowing more time for disorder control.

It is also interesting that a similar pattern occurred in 1929 as in 1925. The rate of surplus value fell in both 1925 and 1929, and as part of the response to this the police tightened their surveillance on the working-class which is represented by a rise in the rate of disorder offending (see Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4 Dishonesty and disorder offending rates and the rate of surplus value, 1923 to 1936.



Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1923 to 1936

Throughout the 1920s the trend is for the rate of imprisonment to increase, and indeed this trend lasts through until 1933 when the rate starts a long period of decline. The major change during the course of this first period is the drop in the number and percentage of prisoners being sentenced for disorder offending. The drop is from 8.40 per 10,000 of the population to 3.26 per 10,000 or 157.66%.

We need to account for the substantial drop in imprisonment levels between 1932 and 1936 when we look

at the changing nature of imprisonment for dishonesty offences. At the beginning of this period of the 1920s and 1930s the rate of imprisonment for dishonesty was 5.45 per 10,000 and in 1936 it was 3.72. However, the rate reached 8.34 per 10,000 in 1932. If we examine the percentage of offence categories contributing to the penal population we see an increase of 6.54% in the case of dishonesty offences and a fall of 40.61% in the case of disorder. This is the first sign that imprisonment is being used less as a means of securing control of recreation and leisure but being more concerned with the regulation of property offending. This signals the change to the 'Fordist' organisation of social life.

In the case of disorder prisoners, the major age groupings are males over thirty years of age, a factor we have drawn attention to in Chapter One. The age range of prisoners received for dishonesty offending is greater than in the case of disorder. However, the main age grouping is in the range between 20 and 39 years of age. There is a discernable trend, however, for the ages of prisoners received for dishonesty offences to be lower at the end of this first term than at the beginning.[6] It seems fair to argue that there was a greater use of imprisonment as a response to the economic crisis throughout the period from the early part of the 1920s until about 1932. From 1933 there is a marked drop in the incidence of imprisonment, and the reasons for this are interesting, and throw light upon how the question of social control was handled during the mid-thirties.

We suggested in Chapter Four that 1932 was the most intense period of hardship of the depression. We suggested that there was some evidence of a slight easing in the pressures impacting upon workers from 1933. When considering this issue we had in mind the reduction in the rates of dishonesty offending and imprisonment levels

from 1933 onwards, and we were seeking an explanation of this lower crime rate. We were for a time of the view that we would have to regard 1933 as an aberration. However, further research has revealed how the authorities responded to the problem of crime and the high incidence of dishonesty offending. This reduction involved the collusion of the Probation Service and the Labour Department. Offenders were released to relief camps by the courts, or upon release from prison were directed to the relief camps. This removed from the urban context the potential for criminal offending by the petty recidivists who made up the offending population. In the Report of the Prisons Department to the House of Representatives in 1934 the Director referred specifically to the drafting of young men to unemployment relief camps. The Director then said:

> Several controlling officers and Probation officers have commented on the fact that the unemployed schemes have been a boon, in that the removal of a large number of men from the temptation that inevitably follow in the wake of idleness in the towns has deflected many from drifting into some form of criminal pursuit... In another way also the unemployed authorities have relieved the burden of crime in that the agencies of the Board have cooperated with Probation Officers and have enabled men released from prison to be placed in work, thereby saving a relapse, which so often happens where a man released from prison has no job to go to. The Prisoners Aid Societies and Probation Committees have also helped in this connection. (AJHR H20 1934).

It seems fair to suggest that the relief camps were a substitute form of imprisonment and social control. This probably meant a much lower crime rate than might have otherwise been the case. We have already commented upon the fact that given the degree of impoverishment, it is a wonder the crime rate remained at what now seem quite modest rates. However, even though the rate of dishonesty offending fell from 1933 onwards compared with say 1932, the rates by the standards of the time were

much higher than in the 1920 period, apart from 1936 when there was a marked drop. Perhaps the expansion of the practice of providing sustenance without the necessity of work relieved the severe intensity of the pressure impacting upon the predatory under-class in 1936. The practice of sending petty criminals to relief camps was one strategy adopted to keep the crime rate low in the face of the collapse of the forces of primary regulation. The fact that crime rates did not increase more than they did in the face of a collapse in primary regulation was due rather to the forces of secondary regulation remaining more or less intact during the depression. Households, neighbourhoods and the other institutional forms which we dealt with in Chapter Six were able to enforce a morality of restraint and conformity on all but the most marginal.

Throughout the first part of the 1930s when the rate of dishonesty offending was high and absorbed much of the police labour time, there was less police labour time available for disorder offending. However, there was another factor which we have already mentioned. This is the dramatic increase in traffic offending which is linked to the increase in motor vehicle registrations in this period, as we can see from Table 7.5. The advent of traffic offending concerns a change in the organisation of transportation relating to the private and individual use of motor vehicles. The introduction of the private motor vehicle opened up a whole new problem for social control, and during this period absorbed more and more of the labour time of the police. The beginning of private motor vehicle transport was also the beginning of the 'Fordist' phase of regulation of the regime of accumulation. The income levels of most New Zealanders were well below the levels required to purchase and operate a private motor vehicle, but the changes to private and individual forms of transport were under way as we can see from Table 7.5.

The rise in motor vehicle registrations which began in 1924 with the passing of the Motor Vehicle Registration Act of that year was steady throughout the 1920s until 1933 when there was a marked reduction in the number of vehicles registered. However, during the whole of the depression the number of new vehicles registered increased. The drop in registration does not mean fewer vehicles, it is an expression of the severity of the depression where many vehicle owners failed to register their motor vehicles.

Table 7.5 Motor vehicle registrations as at 31 October, 1925 to 1936.

YEAR	MOTOR VEHICLE REGISTRATIONS
1925	106,449
1926	140,796
1927	167,640
1928	182,667
1929	209,335
1930	225,549
1931	227,060
1932	221,721
1933	168,193
1934	178,652
1935	192,844
1936	217,782

Source: NZ Monthly Abstract of Statistics, 1925 to 1936

The emergence of the motor vehicle impacted directly upon the imprisonment and offending cycle in a number of ways. Firstly, it diverted the labour time of the police away from disorder surveillance. In this period the police were the main group charged with the responsibility of the control of traffic. This resulted in fewer disorder charges coming before the court, and reduced the potential for imprisonment from this source. Most traffic offending was of a minor nature, but motor vehicle use is also associated with serious accidents involving death and injury. These serious cases

sometimes resulted in imprisonment if the driving was negligent or involved the consumption of alcohol. Once again we see that the leisure and recreation sphere is implicated in the relationship between offending and imprisonment.

Another way in which private motor vehicles made their presence felt was in the sphere of dishonesty offending. Motor vehicles are a central feature of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, and some criminal activity involved disruptions to the quiet enjoyment of the vehicle. This resulted in an expansion of the conversion category of dishonesty offending. In the period after 1945, dishonesty in relation to motor vehicles becomes a significant segment of offending.[7]

c. Summary of the Imprisonment-Offending Cycle in the 1920s and 1930s

In the 1920s and 1930s the crime rates for most categories fluctuated. These fluctuations in the case of dishonesty offending and imprisonment were consistent with the way in which the specific price of the limited consumption basket fluctuated and with the demand for labour power. The emergence of traffic offences altered the nature of policing which in turn changed the distribution of offence categories. The specific price and the demand for labour power fluctuated which is consistent with the competitive regulation of the regime of accumulation.

In this period the predatory potential of society was relatively low, but the exclusion tendency operated at a high level of intensity. This high level of intensity was the product of the high degree of precariousness of the wage relation and the inadequacy of the means of consumption. This excluded many from participation in the wage relation and the limited mode of consumption.

The competitive regulation of the regime of accumulation resulted in fluctuations in the way the exclusion tendency operated, and this was reflected in fluctuating crime rates. The general easing in the intensity of the exclusion tendency after 1933 resulted in generally lower crime rates, although variations still continued. Our Tables and Figures suggest there is a correlation between a fall in the adequacy of the means of consumption and the probability of at least dishonesty offending and imprisonment rates rising. We can also note a close relationship between the different offence levels and three factors. There is firstly, the class struggle, secondly, the demand for labour power, and thirdly, the demands made upon the labour time of the police in terms of traffic offending. The relationship between these three factors changed and this in turn altered the probability distribution of the various offence and imprisonment categories. The main general feature is the decline in the probability of disorder offending and imprisonment and the increase in the importance of traffic offending. The final general feature we draw attention to is the relatively high rate of offences and imprisonment for categories which are no longer dealt with by the criminal law (for example, family offences related to maintenance and separation) or where the contribution to the offending and imprisonment rates are now negligible (for example, shipping and offences involving seamen).[8]

2. The Imprisonment-Offending Cycle After 1945

In the period between 1945 and 1955 the trend was for offending rates to fall, but the age of those offending showed a marked downward trend. However, after 1955 the rates of criminal offending in all categories apart from disorder offending began to increase, a trend that has continued until the present. On the other hand there has been less use of imprisonment in relation to the total

offending than was the case in the period between 1923 and 1936. The changing nature of punishment meant that a wider range of sanctions was available and imprisonment tended to become a last resort punishment. However, this factor does not explain why the pattern of offending changed and why the characteristics of offenders also underwent change.

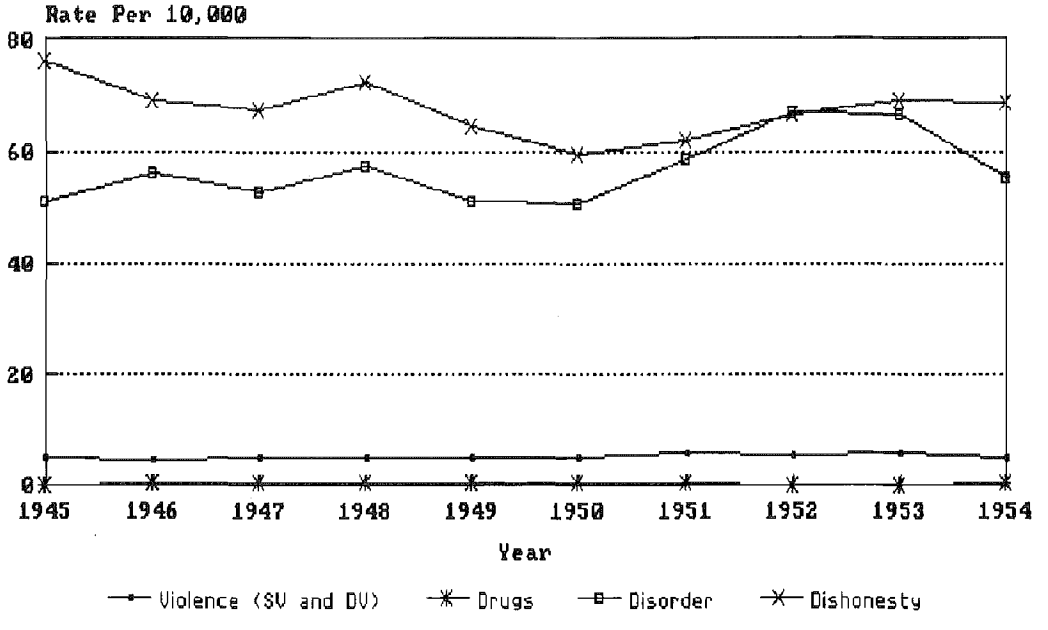
We will discuss the data in three periods: from 1945 to 1955, from 1955 to 1970, and from 1970 until 1985. On the basis of offences reported to the police we can see that there is an increase in overall offences reported from 34,399 in 1943 to 511,522 in 1985 (see Tables 7.7 to 7.13). However, some caution is needed with the data prior to 1959 as it is doubtful if all offences reported were included in the statistics in the earlier period.[9] However, the figures do provide us with some guide as to the changing rates of the different categories of offence. There is also a gap in the data between 1954 and 1958 (both inclusive) while the procedures for recording statistics were changed and improved.

a. The Imprisonment-Offending Cycle 1945 to 1955

In this period the rate of offences reported to the Police are remarkably stable in all categories (see Tables 7.7, 7.8, 7.9 and 7.10 and Figure 7.5). The same situation is revealed in the total charges dealt with in the Magistrate's Court (Tables 7.14 to 7.19 and Figure 7.6). It is interesting to note that although the number of dishonesty and disorder offences reported to the police are roughly similar, there is a greater volume of disorder offences brought to the Magistrate's Court than dishonesty offences. Indeed total charges of disorder offences as a rate per 10,000 of the population grows in this period. In this period the level of disorder offending by Maori males was quite stable, varying between 7.39% to 10.46% of those arrested for disorder

offences (see Table 7.41). Although these levels were stable and small in relation to all disorder offending they still represented higher rates among Maori offenders than among 'Non-Maori'.

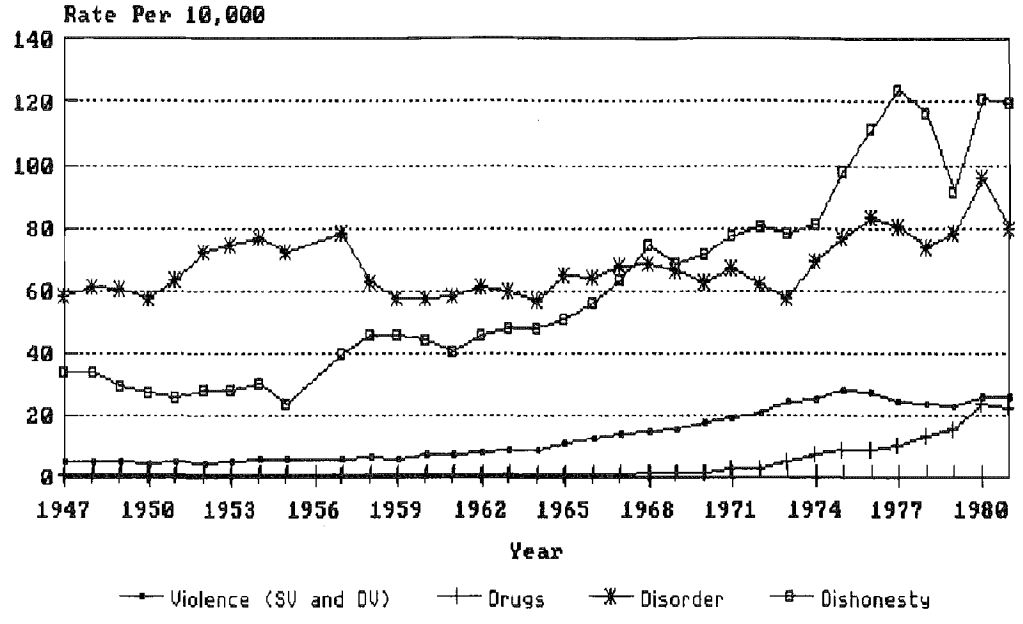
Figure 7.5 Rates of offences reported to police 1945 to 1955.



Source: AJHR H11 1946 to 1955

The rates per 10,000 of population of prisoners received ranged between 9.70 in 1949 to 13.28 in 1947, and there is in this period a downward trend in the rates of imprisonment. In the case of Maori males the numbers sentenced to imprisonment range from 315 to 459, and the rate per 10,000 ranges from 108.27 to 157.73 (see Table 7.35). It is clear that although the numbers are modest by the standards experienced later, the rates for Maori imprisoned even in this period were much higher than for the whole of the population. However, based upon rates per 10,000 of the whole male population the trend is for lowering rates of imprisonment including Maori persons.

Figure 7.6 Rates of Total Charges Brought in Magistrate's Court, 1947 to 1981.



Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1947 to 1981

However, the age levels of Maori prisoners is noticeably lower than for the other prisoners received. In the case of Maori prisoners the range of the probability distribution of prisoners under 25 years of age is from 0.49950 to 0.54613, with an average probability of 0.49950 (see Table 7.36). In the case of non-Maori prisoners the probability range is from 0.24459 to 0.41895 with an average of 0.31713 (see Table 7.32).

The rate of violent crime is relatively low, being largely limited to domestic upheavals and to fighting among males where serious injuries have occurred (Tables 7.11, 7.17, 7.21 and 7.39). Like all periods this one had a number of sensational cases such as the Horton murder in Wellington in 1948 which involved a vicious

attack upon a woman at night (Morris, 1975). This form of violence, however, was not related to any organised criminal activity. Disorder violence had higher rates than serious violence, reflecting the fighting associated with the leisure and recreation activities of the rough and unruly elements of society. Disorder activities are associated with drinking, and relate to after hours drinking in hotels which were required to close at 6.00 pm. This law was widely disregarded by many New Zealanders and after-hours drinking was a common feature of the leisure and recreation of males. There were many hotels whose trade was dependent upon after-hours trading, and there were allegations of police corruption and bribery leading to an inquiry into the operations of the police in 1954. The following year the Commissioner of Police resigned and a new police administration was put in place. Although there were serious allegations of corruption made about after-hours hotel operations and 'hush money' being paid by bookmakers to the police none of these were proven. The matter was considered serious enough for the Prime Minister of the time, Sir Sidney Holland, to take charge of the police and to appoint a Commission of Inquiry (AJHR H16 1954).

Prior to the introduction of the Totalisator Agency Board there was no lawful means available for betting on race horses apart from attending the race meeting.[10] There were many bookmakers and illegal betting was a feature of the operation of hotels and billiard rooms. Many billiard rooms were fronts for illegal gambling activities. The introduction of the Totalisator Agency Board reduced the number of bookmakers, but many hotels continued to have a resident 'bookie' taking bets on a small scale. This practice continues to this day.

In this period the labour force underwent significant growth, and incomes relative to the limited mode of consumption rose significantly. There was some move

towards a 'Fordist' mode of consumption, but its effects were limited. In the easing of the conditions of precariousness of wage labour, and the rising levels of adequacy of the means of consumption, the predatory nature of New Zealand life eased in this period. There was, however, a residue of predatory activity associated with drinking and gambling. In this period the fluidity of society was restricted, and the inter-generational relations were still relatively inflexible.

The leisure and recreation activities of the emerging generation in New Zealand society were still largely regulated in households and civil society by means of reciprocal collective participatory activities, but these institutional forms were beginning to lose their hold as we saw in Chapter Six.

Income levels in relation to the limited consumption basket rose, reducing the predatory potential. The level of social fluidity in relative terms was still static in relation to the period after the mid-sixties. There were, however, some signs of the unease about the likely consequences of the rising consumption norms and the slight easing in social fluidity. In 1954 concerns surfaced as a result of sex scandals among teenagers and adolescents in Lower Hutt leading to the setting up of the Mazengarb Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents (AJHR H47 1954). The revelations of the facts surrounding the case set off a public outcry, which in its turn led to the setting up of the committee. These revelations occurred at about the same time as the Parker/Hume murder in Christchurch, where two girls murdered the mother of one of the girls. The unease amongst the public after these events suggest that there was an undercurrent among people that things were changing, that society was becoming more fluid and therefore less controllable. We believe that there were sound reasons for the concern in terms of the beginnings

of a more flexible and fluid society. An analysis of the data examined by the committee in the Mazengarb inquiry suggests that there was no evidence that children and adolescents were any more or less moral or immoral than the previous generations. This incident is important in pointing to changing moods and feelings in society about it moral underpinning.[11]

As we review this period in the late 1980s and the early 1990s we are drawn to the view that this was a comparatively tranquil period of New Zealand's history, at least in terms of offending, when considered in relation to the period from 1955 onwards. However, it is clear that the Department of Justice was concerned about the problem of recidivism and persistent offending by a relatively small group, resulting in changes to the administration of the justice system with the passing of the Criminal Justice Act 1954. It is clear that a hard core of offenders remained even though the conditions affecting the predatory potential were quite stable. A person aged 15 years in 1945 had been born in 1930, at the height of the depression, when many families were exposed to the most extreme hardship. This was then followed by the turbulence of the war years between 1939 and 1945 and we would have expected the socialisation of many of those who were young persons in the period immediately after the war to have been seriously disrupted. However, the level of predatory activity declined or was quite stable in this period. Pearson wrote *Fretful Sleepers* in 1952, and at this time the puritanical moral order was still enforceable, but as we have indicated in Chapter Six there were signs that this moral order was easing, at least for some young persons. The interaction of the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency was limited by the easing of the precariousness of waged-labour, by an increase in the adequacy of the means of consumption in relation to the limited consumption norms and by the relative inflexi-

bility of forms of secondary regulation. Although the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency are always present, their activation, operation and effects were different than in the period of the 1920s and 1930s. The reasons for this variation were the result of the easing in the precariousness of the wage labour relation, an increase in incomes relative to the limited mode of consumption and the changes in the enforceability of the puritanical moral order.

b. The Imprisonment-Offending Cycle 1955 to 1970

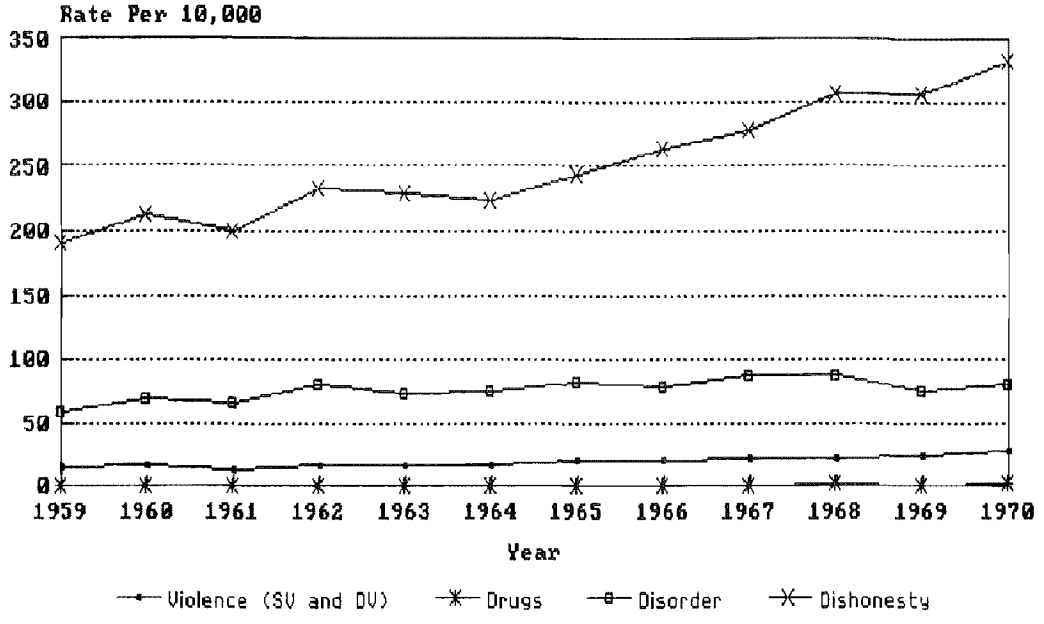
i. Offence Patterns

There is a gap of five years in the offences reported to the police between 1954 and 1958 inclusive.[12]

From 1959 onwards there is a wide divergence in dishonesty and disorder offences reported to the police (Table 7.7 and Figure 7.7). In the period between 1942 and 1953 disorder and dishonesty offences were comparable, but after this time dishonesty offences outweigh disorder by more than 3:1 at the beginning of the period, rising to more than 4:1 in 1970. Disorder offences range from 58.91 to 87.60 per 10,000 of the total population. On the other hand dishonesty offences range from 190.16 to 332.68 per 10,000 of the total population. Serious violence ranges from 2.84 to 6.71 per 10,000 of the total population. The rate tends to fluctuate, but the trend is clearly upwards. The rate of drug offences in this period ranges from 0.21 to 1.49 per 10,000 of the total population. By 1970 the first signs of the emerging 'drug problem' are noticeable (Tables 7.7 to 7.13).

When we consider the data relating to the Magistrate's Court (Tables 7.14 to 7.19) it is apparent that the

Figure 7.7 Rates of violence, disorder, drugs and dishonesty offences reported to the police, 1959 to 1970.



Source: AJHR H17 1960 to 1971

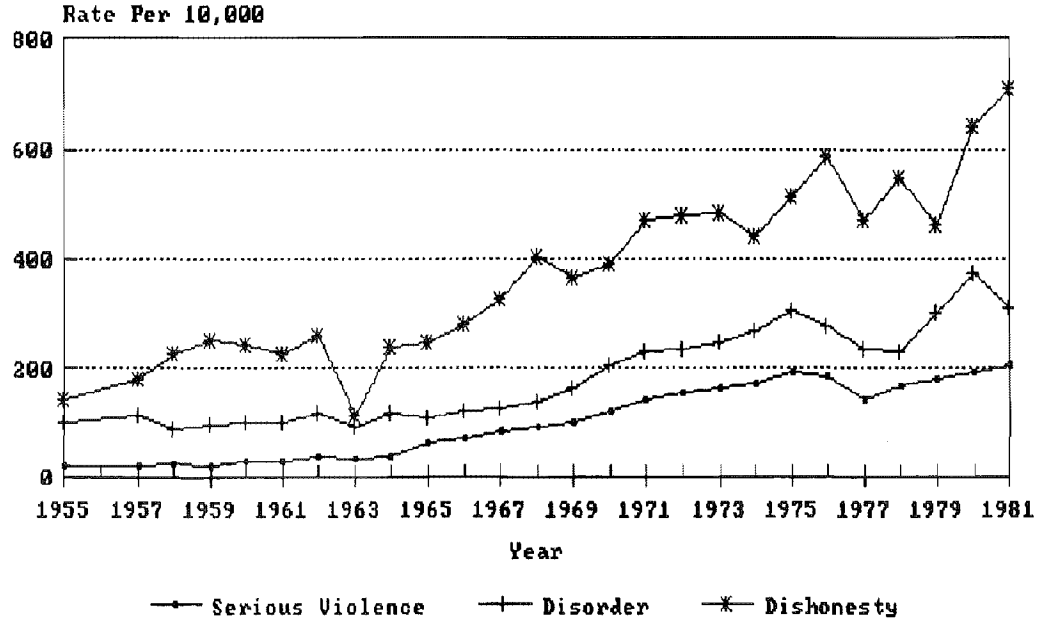
wide divergence in dishonesty and disorder offences in the police statistics are not reflected in cases brought before the court. The control of the recreation and leisure activities of the unruly is still the preoccupation of the polices' prosecution activity until the late 1960s when the rate of dishonesty offending overtakes disorder offending for the first time in the Magistrate's Court. The rate of serious violence ranges from 0.60 to 1.63, with disorder violence ranging from 4.40 to 15.51. In both cases the increases are more pronounced towards the end of the period than at the beginning. Drugs offences ranges between 0.09 to 1.33, and the establishment of drug offending is clear by 1970.

The statistics dealing with the arrest cases (Tables 7.38 to 7.43 and Figure 7.8) in the Magistrate's Court provides a basis for studying the rise in Maori offending

rates. In the case of violent crime, the number of charges in this period ranged from 513 to 3,745, and of these Maori offenders accounted for a range from 127 to 1,346. The percentage of the charges against Maori offenders ranged between 17.93% to 35.94%. These increases are more or less evenly spread throughout the period. This indicates a clear growth of violent crime among young Maori males. The rates per 10,000 of the Maori males shows a significant increase in this period. The range is from 18.33 to 119.83, whereas for other offenders the range is from 3.83 to 18.27 per 10,000 of the 'non-Maori' male population.

In the case of disorder offending the rates for the total population are within the range of 41.22 to 62.86 per 10,000. For Maori males the range is 92.00 to 203.61 per

Figure 7.8 Rates of arrest cases involving convictions for violence, disorder and dishonesty offences for Maori males, 1955 to 1981.



Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Justice, 1955 to 1981

10,000, whereas for non-Maori the range is from 37.32 to 53.82 per 10,000. The clear implication of these figures is that although disorder offending is relatively stable, Maori males contribute a disproportionate number of offenders to the disorder category. This reflects a relatively high rate of interaction between the police and young Maori males during the course of leisure and recreation activities (Kelsey and Young, 1982).

In the period between 1952 and 1955 the ratio of total dishonesty charges of Maori and non-Maori ranged between 4:1 and 6:1. However, in the period between 1955 and 1970 the ratio is reduced to about 3:1 for the whole period. The rate of dishonesty offending increases significantly, but the rate of increase, like other categories of offending analysed, is higher in the case of Maori persons. The range for Maori is from 180.55 to 392.53, and for non-Maori from 33.12 to 88.73 per 10,000.

The rates for males over 15 years of age received as prisoners range from 12.02 to 17.43 per 10,000. Although the prisoners received into prison increased, the ratio of persons sent to prison in relation to overall offending fell, as a greater range of sanctions were enacted for the punishment of offenders. In this period the higher offending rates among Maori males is reflected in increasing rates of imprisonment for Maori males (see Tables 7.33 and 7.34). The range in the rate is from 136.09 to 316.58, whereas for 'non-Maori' the range is from 30.91 to 36.26 per 10,000. It is clear that in this period Maori male persons were becoming a major offending group, beginning to dominate the violent and dishonesty categories. In the case of disorder offending the rates for non-Maori decreased, but the rates for Maori rose. In this period the age of persons received into prison fell significantly. This is more striking in the case of Maori males where the rates for Maori males under 20 years of age ranged between 125.98 and 641.32. The

corresponding rate for non-Maori ranged from 29.16 to 88.04 (see Tables 7.33 and 7.34).

The most striking feature of this period, compared with the period from 1971 to the mid-eighties is the almost total lack of drugs offending, although there were some signs in the late 1960s as the rate of drug offending began to increase. However, evidence of the emergence of an underground economy associated with vice and predatory activities surfaced in December 1963 with the Basset Road machine gun murder in Auckland. In this case the activities of rival vice factions spilled over into serious violence. The crown prosecutor in the case advised the jury that a twilight zone of criminal activity existed in Auckland. The police now regard the Bassett Road case as a hallmark in the history of crime and predatory activity in New Zealand as it marked the first acknowledged case of organised violent crime (Christchurch Press, 25 February 1964).[13]

ii. The Criminal Normative Order

The Basset Road case which amounted to a 'boilover' of organised predatory activity raises the question of the nature of this predatory activity. Newbold's discussion of criminal sub-cultures in New Zealand is the first and only systematic study of its kind. Newbold makes the point that criminal sub-cultures are by no means homogeneous, and that various types exist. The main distinction which he draws is between the professional criminal and the street gang, and between white- and blue-collar crime. He argues that it is possible, notwithstanding the different types, to identify some general features of blue-collar crime, and that these features are similar to criminal sub-cultures noticed by overseas commentators (Newbold, 1989).

Newbold identifies a number of features of the criminal sub-culture such as the continuity of the ethics of the criminal population from the time of colonial settlement until the present which is manifest in the use of cockney slang. There is an identifiable ethic among criminals, which focuses largely on the 'rule' of not 'narking' to the police and remaining staunch. There is a recognised range of penalties for breaches of this rule.[14] The police, however, infiltrate the criminal world with under-cover policemen, and a network of informers and 'narks'. As criminal activity has increased so to have the occasions where retaliation for 'narking' is sought, which is reflected in higher rates of violent offending.

Newbold (1989) points out that criminals share many values with the mainstream of New Zealand society including such activities as horse racing and sporting events, particularly boxing and rugby league. The criminal sub-culture, like the dominant culture, relegates women to an inferior place, but it is more pronounced and emphatic among criminals. The professional criminal population is a relatively small group who are often well known to each other, given the small size of even the largest cities in New Zealand.

Up until the 1970s the main form of criminal activity was concentrated upon property offending (which is confirmed in the Tables accompanying this Chapter) such as burglary and theft. Safe blowers were the elite of the criminal world prior to 1970. One of the most notorious crimes in this period was the Wellington waterfront theft when Trevor Edward Nash stole $39,750, much of which was never recovered. Nash escaped from Mt Eden prison, but was later recaptured in Melbourne (Morris, 1975). The emphasis upon property offences changed after 1970 when drug production and distribution became the main form of activity within an underground economy. In the period before 1970 the level of vice organised around massage

parlours and prostitution was limited, but this form of predatory activity increased after this time. This predatory activity according to Newbold is associated with hedonistic lifestyles, but is based upon unpredictable incomes. Criminals like to drive large cars and buy expensive jewellery when their pockets are full, but when the money runs out they turn their attention to making an 'earn'. In the period between 1955 and 1970 the focus was on property offending, but after this the emphasis shifted to drug production and/or dealing (Newbold, 1989).

Newbold has the following to say about the ideology of criminals in terms of their relation to the wider society:

> At the personal level, a similar degree of alienation appears. The criminal sees himself as generically removed from the 'Joe Lunch Boxes' of conventionality and seldom conceals his repugnant disdain for the workaday world... For the professional criminal there are two vocational alternatives. On the one hand lies the choice of regular employment, with sacrificial enslavement to the forty-hour clock. On the other is that of opportunistic enterprise. The latter usually involves high risk ventures, where the pain of possible failure is matched by the reward of likely success. For although the astute offender knows that the law of averages favours his chances, he must also appreciate that these chances can never be absolute. Repetition must sooner or later bring failure, and when this occurs, loss of liberty is likely. (Newbold, 1989: 273-274).

There are a number of features of the vignettes set out in Chapter One which are consistent with Newbold's account. We can clearly identify the predatory nature of the criminal sub-cultures in this description of the ideology of the sub-cultures. One of the most interesting aspects of the criminal ideology is the relationship to the contribution principle and the problem of rewards and the presence of a moral legitimation which is aimed at justifying predatory

activities, underlying once again the inherent moral nature of social life. In other words, even predatory activity which violates the dominant norms of society seeks a moral justification.

The generalisation of the norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption during the 1960s provided the basis for the predatory organisation of recreation and leisure, the theft and recycling of the means of consumption, and the spasmodic and spontaneous theft of property as opportunities arose. These opportunities increased with the breakdown of the institutional forms which mediated the puritanical moral order of the period of the 1920s and 1930s and through into the 1950s. The Bassett Road machine gun murder was the 'tip of the iceberg' of predatory recreation and leisure which was becoming possible. All of these factors relate to an increasing predatory potential within New Zealand society during this period. They also lie at the heart of the changing emphasis upon monetised recreation and leisure, leading to what we have claimed was the exaltation of consumption, rather than the honour of work and contributions to social needs. The predatory potential steadily built-up during this period, and it is against this background that we must consider the operation of the exclusion tendency and the forces which impacted upon it.

iii. The Specific Nature of the Imprisonment-Offending Cycle 1955 to 1970, and the Presence of Gangs

In the period between 1955 and 1970 the labour force continued to expand, although we have noted an easing in the growth rate of the productive sector, and in particular in the manual labouring sectors, as the decade of the 1960s advanced. There was a contraction in some sectors of the labour force in the period between 1966 and 1971, the construction sector being the main one

affected. During the 1960s there was a substantial increase in the female labour force, and a slowing in the rate of growth of the male labour force. Participation in wage labour involved a commitment to a disciplined and regular way of life. However, in this period there was sufficient work available, which meant that even those not committed to a work ethic could drift in and out of work, more or less at will. The work available, however, was often seasonal in nature, being concentrated in construction labouring, transport, the industrial food complex and unskilled factory work. The wage levels for this work were concentrated in Levels 1 and 2 of the wages/consumption relation. This wage level impeded participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

The tenuous nature of the relationship between the wage relation and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption is in turn related to the conditions for the regulation of consumption. In this period we have noted the generalisation of the mechanisation of domestic labour and an advance in the degree of monetary recreation and leisure, both leading to a loosening in the inter-generational relations and both occurring in the face of expanding consumption norms. These factors created the conditions for a more fluid and mobile society which meant that the puritanical moral order was less effective. The changing emphasis on consumption in its turn led to the emergence of an alternative moral order where the emphasis was upon consumption rather than social contribution.

Between 1955 and 1970, the principal factor generating the rise in crime rates was the increase in the predatory potential of society, aided by a loosening in the forces of secondary regulation. As we can see the rates of crime and predatory activity increased significantly during this period. In the case of Maori offenders the degree of exclusion was much greater, in that they were

located in those sectors of the wage relation which were coming under pressure, and in addition they faced racial prejudice and a much more intense exclusion from the mode of consumption than Pakeha located in the same sectors of the wage relation.

Between 1955 and 1970 a number of gangs were formed and they started to attract the attention of the police. Newbold argues that although gang culture and the criminal sub-culture differ there are similarities in their activities. The raison d'etre of the gang is seldom crime itself, yet many gang members see themselves as 'outlaws', in opposition to the police, hence they engage in criminal activity. Large numbers of gang members do not work, but unlawful business within the gang is usually a personal activity and not related to the organisation and operation of the gang as such (Newbold, 1989).

We argued earlier that Maori gangs are a collective solution to the exclusion of Maori males from the labour force and the mode of consumption. We argued that the imperatives of establishing a collective solidarity is the source of conflict and violence and Newbold bears out this argument:

> The gangs, as mentioned, contrast with (other criminal groups) in that they are overwhelmingly Maori. In a few of the smaller and better established groups, such as Hell's Angels, whites still predominate, but today the largest gang membership is drawn from the depressed areas of the cities and towns where the brown-skinned population tend to be congregated. These groups are not overtly racist - even the Black Power admits whites - but because of the size and predominant colour of the gangs, a sense of racial identity cannot help but be felt and easily nourished. (Newbold, 1989:270).

We have noted in Chapter Six how the movement of Maori people from the rural areas into the towns and cities

began slowly at first, affecting mainly young persons. In the period between 1945 and 1955 the levels of offending by Maori were quite stable, but after 1955 the offending rates began to accelerate. Based upon the arrest data (Tables 7.38 to 7.43) it is clear that the offences were related to serious violence and dishonesty offending. Disorder is a crucial category, and the main point of contact between young Maori males and the police who prescribed the limits of activity within the towns and placed real barriers to their freedom and mobility. These persons had been nurtured and reared in the rural areas, and lacked the cultural training and income to participate in anything other than fringe recreation and leisure activities. In 1956 a Magistrate in Hastings described two Maori brothers as a 'pack of Mongrels', and the legend is that this incident formed the basis of inverting a term of condemnation into a term of honour, around which a collective movement emerged (Kelsey and Young, 1982:2). The limits prescribed by the police in the recreation and leisure sphere of life of young Maori males related to the limited income, in terms of the rising norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. This created an extreme tension in the relationship between participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption and the exclusion from this mode of consumption. These persons were freed from the pressures of the moral and normative order of the Maori people, and were outside and excluded from the puritanical moral order of Pakeha society. This resulted in increases in rates of theft, burglary and later robberies by some young Maori males. However, we will defer any further specific discussion of the problem of Maori offending until we consider it as a factor of offending in the period between 1970 and the mid-eighties.

In the period to 1970, unlike the period following, employment was relatively freely available, although the nature of the work was such that most Maori persons were

incorporated into manual labouring. We know that in this period, however, the rate of expansion of work in the manual labouring sectors did not expand as quickly as in the period between 1945 and 1955. We know also that from 1966 to 1971 some sectors of the labour force contracted in relative terms, such as agriculture and construction where many young Maori males were located. It is clear from an analysis of the offending statistics that the intensity of offending grows as the decade of the sixties advances and comes to an end.

c. The Imprisonment-Offending Cycle 1970 to 1985

i. The Offending Pattern; Drugs and the Underground Economy, the Exclusion Tendency and the Predatory Potential

From 1970 to the mid-eighties, all categories of offending with which we are essentially concerned, namely serious violence, disorder violence, drugs, disorder and dishonesty offending increased, and in some cases the percentage increases were dramatic, particularly in the case of drug offending. These changes are obvious from the offences reported to the police, the total charges handled in the Magistrate's/District Court, and in the arrest cases data. The data on prisoners received shows a changing rate of imprisonment, with high rates achieved in 1970, 1971 and 1972 (see Tables 7.20 to 7.28). The imprisonment rates tended to fall after this time, only to rise once again in the mid-eighties.

The dramatic increase in drug offending reflects a major change in the nature of the predatory potential, and also has important implications for the pattern of crime and the imprisonment-offending cycle. Throughout this period the percentage increase of offending among Maori people increased at a much greater rate than for the non-Maori section of New Zealand society. Throughout this period there is a constant rise in the percentage of Maori

persons making up the hard-core in the prisons, and in prisoners received. It is important to stress the dominance of dishonesty offending in the offence statistics, although the percentage increase has not been as high as in the case of drugs or serious violence. In this period the tendency for the age of offenders and prisoners received to fall continues with an increasingly higher rate among those under 25 years of age for all categories of offending (see Tables 7.29 to 7.37).

In order to explain the imprisonment-offending cycle in the period between 1970 and the mid-eighties we will discuss the data in Tables 7.7 to 7.43 and in Figure 7.9, which helps establish the overall pattern, and we will then further the analysis with a consideration of the ten vignettes of the persons profiled in Chapter One. We will attempt to interpret the data revealed in the Tables and the vignettes in terms of the predatory potential of society and the exclusion tendency.

The pattern of the imprisonment-offending cycle between 1970 and the mid-eighties cannot be understood without reference to the underground economy which emerged throughout the 1960s, and which from 1970 has become the institutional form in which predatory activities are regulated. The underground economy is organised around three principal activities. Dishonesty offending is the most numerous, and can be divided into two sub-categories. There is firstly, the organised theft and recycling of stolen property in which articles such as motor vehicles and other consumer durables which form the basis of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption are stolen and recycled. The second sub-category of dishonesty offending relates to the spasmodic theft of property for personal use, and includes robberies associated with violence. Drug offending is the second main component of the underground economy, and it provides a widespread form of enterprise for satisfying material needs,

independently of participation in the wage relation. The third segment of the underground economy is associated with the operation of activities such as massage parlours, night clubs and strip joints. These activities are accompanied by 'standover' tactics and protection rackets. The reproduction of the activities of the underground economy are associated with a great deal of the more serious violent crime, such as murder, intimidation and grievous assaults.

The relationship between dishonesty offending and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption is clear from Table 7.6 which sets out the categories of criminally appropriated property and the money values involved.

Table 7.6 Value of Criminally Appropriated Property 1984.

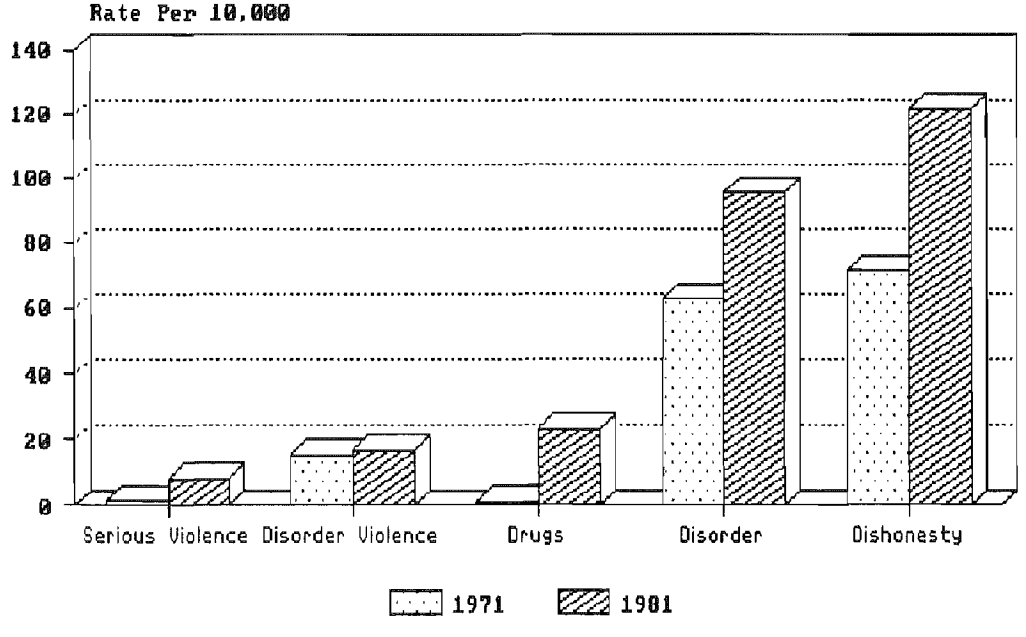
	TOTAL OFFENCES	VALUE IN $
MOTOR VEHICLE ACCESSORIES	15,224	4,968,585
BUILDING SUPPLIES	7,013	4,472,309
BICYCLES	16,019	4,183,756
CASH	34,707	7,379,899
CHEQUES	5,864	1,331,064
CLOTHING	26,269	6,084,766
COLOUR TELEVISIONS	1,599	1,639,417
DRUGS	553	54,744
ELECTRONIC ITEMS	25,264	3,031,102
FIREARMS	976	54,744
GROCERY ITEMS	10,766	1,324,722
JEWELLERY	9,634	8,470,974
LIQUOR	5,915	858,011
MOTOR VEHICLES	25,082	78,931,338
OUTBOARD MOTORS	538	632,632
PHOTOGRAPHIC EQUIPMENT	4,210	2,671,724
WELFARE BENEFITS	133	138,951
OTHER ITEMS	82,736	26,352,823
TOTAL	272,462	173,369,710

Source: Police Statistics 1984

The total value of property criminally appropriated in 1984 was $173,369,710. If we allow for inflation the 1990 equivalent in dollars is $310,946,964. In the three years ending 1984 roughly $15 million worth of motor vehicles were unrecovered each year which amounts to $26,903,226 based on 1990 dollars. These figures give some indication of the level of activity of this aspect of the underground economy.

There is evidence that the cannabis crop is extensive and the recent announcement by the police of the destruction of 150,000 cannabis plants with a street value of $150,000,000 gives some idea of the extent of the activity. It has been reported that in the mid-1980s the value of the cannabis exported in Northland was higher than any other cash crop produced in that region.[16]

Figure 7.9 Distribution of violence, disorder, drugs and dishonesty offence rates in the Magistrate's Court 1971 and 1981.



Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Justice, 1971 to 1981

In order to make more obvious the regulatory forces involved in the current pattern of offending, we will look at the vignettes in more detail. In eight of the ten vignettes, the persons profiled were involved in some way with the predatory organisation of recreation and leisure. The main feature of the predatory organisation of recreation and leisure is the production and consumption of illicit drugs. This activity provided for the first time in New Zealand a substantial basis for violations of the contribution and reward norms of society. In these eight vignettes we notice that some of those profiled were involved as consumers of drugs, and some as consumers and dealers. In other words we can identify social relations of production and consumption of predatory recreation and leisure.

In some cases the persons concerned were serious addicts, and lived lives as 'junkies', while others were concerned largely with the trading aspects of drug use. We have noticed that this activity is associated with crimes of serious violence, and that some of the persons profiled committed crimes of dishonesty in order to obtain drugs, or to obtain money to become traders. In the two remaining cases one was involved in organised theft and the recycling of motor vehicles. The other was involved in gaining access to the means of consumption of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption by theft or fraud.

In four cases of those profiled, the households in which they lived had been seriously disrupted which set off a series of events resulting in exclusion from participation in waged work and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The disruptive event is the immediate cause, but it is necessary to consider why, or under what circumstances the disruptive event sets off predatory activity. An answer must be sought in terms of why, in the period from about 1970, disruptions to the orderly socialisation of the contribution and reward norms of New

Zealand society often resulted in involvement in predatory activities such as the predatory organisation of recreation and leisure, dishonesty and gang-related activities.

Part of the explanation lies in the structural relation between production and consumption. Production takes place in individual firms, and the goods produced become available for society through the market exchange process. Consumption, on the other hand, is organised in private households with the link to production being through participation in paid work. If participation in paid work by members of the household is disrupted then that household is excluded from the dominant mode of consumption. The individual household unit sets the boundaries as to obligations and benefits, and the income from waged work sets the limits to the extent or degree of monetised consumption which is possible. Participation in waged work and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption requires a strong and enduring personality structure, the development of which, in turn, is dependent upon stable and secure social conditions within the household unit. Also required are the internalisation of the values of waged work, and consumption based upon the norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, which is also dependent upon predictable and stable social conditions within the household. We know that human life is characterised by struggle and suffering, and that many facets of social life are fragile and vulnerable. We know that death, illness, marital separation and discord are enduring features of social life, and that these events can disrupt, and in the case of those profiled did disrupt their lives. The intervention of destabilising events is something to be expected, and the private and individual organisation of one of the most vital institutional forms in our society stands at the heart of what we call the exclusion tendency. This is a tendency which exists, but which is

not necessarily activated, its activation and operation being dependent upon other forces.

In Chapters Three, Four and Five we indicated the conditions which activate the operation of the exclusion tendency. We do not propose to repeat those arguments at this stage, except to reinforce the importance of the adequacy of the means of consumption in relation to the consumption norms and participation in the wage relation. In many of the vignettes there is evidence of inadequate income in relation to the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, particularly in relation to the monetised nature of recreation and leisure. In this period the exaltation of recreation and leisure replaced the honour of work as one of the important elements of the moral and normative order. Perhaps the most important factor influencing the exclusion tendency in the period since the early 1970s has been the problematic nature of participation in the wage relation, particularly for many young persons making the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Up until the early 1970s it was relatively easy for all persons, even those not committed to a work ethic to slip in and out of work with relative ease. The fact that this work was often distasteful and lowly paid meant that alternative predatory means were sometimes sought to sustain consumption. However, in this period up to 1970 no substantial predatory activity existed which could provide the means of engaging in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. However, after about 1970 the predatory organisation of recreation and leisure provided an alternative basis for participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

The exclusion tendency in itself is not sufficient to explain predatory activity, and therefore, we need to consider the predatory potential of society. The predatory potential expresses the extent to which it is possible to violate the contribution and reward norms of

society, and the extent to which violation of those norms satisfies consumption needs in part or in whole. The predatory potential contains two elements, one related to the nature of social regulation, and the other to the level of material wealth of society.

In trying to specify the predatory potential of New Zealand society in the period between 1970 and the mid-eighties, we will deal firstly with the question of material wealth. The predatory organisation of recreation and leisure is the most significant development in predatory activity in the last twenty years. The predatory organisation of recreation and leisure is dependent upon a significant number of persons having the income to purchase illicit or 'questionable' forms of recreation and leisure. In other words predatory recreation and leisure involves a struggle over the distribution of mainly money income received by the working-class as their means of reproduction. This form of activity does not involve the creation of new value, but involves the redistribution of value already produced. A great deal of violent crime is associated with the preservation and reproduction of these predatory social relations.

In the 1920s and 1930s the basis of predatory recreation and leisure activity was limited to gambling (mainly book-making), the consumption of alcohol, after-hours hotel trading, sly grogging and prostitution. In the period since 1945 there have been a number of additions to this list, mainly in the period after the 1960s. These include massage parlours as fronts for prostitution, night clubs and strip joints. These activities are now often linked to drug use and distribution. The Basset Road machine gun murder involved sly grog operations. Bookmaking still exists in hotels, but it is much reduced since the advent of the Totalisator Agency Board. The main form of recreation

and leisure predatory activity focuses around drugs, massage parlours, night clubs and strip joints.

The reproduction of the predatory relations of recreation and leisure are a hazardous affair, involving surveillance from the police and the internal regulation of these social relations by the participants themselves. We assume that exchange and reciprocal regulatory mechanisms operate within the predatory relation, but these forms of regulation are frequently violated leading to retaliation. This retaliation is a source of violent crime, some of which surfaces in the recorded statistics. The precarious and tenuous nature of the social relations of the predatory relation is an important feature of the vignettes and the actions of those profiled needs to be understood in terms of these precarious and tenuous social relations. Those enmeshed in these relations seem unable to escape, but their participation in the predatory relation offers no stability or security. In truth the relations are uncertain, unpredictable and destructive.

The predatory organisation of recreation and leisure does not exhaust the organisation of the activities of the predatory relation. We can include some second-hand car dealing activities from at least the period after the second world war until this activity was licensed.[16] The theft and recycling, or the use of property is an important ingredient of the predatory relation. This activity is less well organised than recreation and leisure activities, except for some better organised cases of theft and recycling of stolen property, and we have an example of this in the vignettes in the case of Shaun. Many thefts are, however, unplanned and often occur spontaneously as an opportunity presents itself. However, a great deal of theft is committed by those engaged in the predatory relation, almost as a way of life. They steal many of the things they require. This

form of predatory activity is the most prevalent, and accounts for a solid core of offenders and the penal population, at least up until the mid-eighties.

The emergence of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption is the immediate factor accounting for the wider range of the predatory potential of New Zealand society. However, as we have already argued we cannot understand the changing nature of the mode of consumption except in terms of the emergence of an intensive regime of accumulation, and the transition to a mass production and consumption society. This involved, as we have shown, the accumulation of capital in the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process in land-based food and fibre production. The accumulation of capital in these dimensions of the labour process increased the power of the forces of production and the material wealth of New Zealand society. We have noted how organised predatory recreation and leisure activity was limited in the 1920s and 1930s, and that those who were excluded or impeded from full participation in waged work were often condemned to squalid and sordid lives. The consumption norms since the 1920s and 1930s have been totally transformed, and impoverishment is related to inadequacy of mechanised domestic labour, monetised recreation and leisure and home and vehicle ownership. The advance in material wealth has substantially increased the potential for predatory activity, and forms the material basis upon which the predatory potential of society is activated and realised. However, it is necessary to consider the basis upon which social regulation operates in a society based upon an intensive regime of accumulation and a 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

The important issue here is the fluidity of social relations which accompanied the transition to what we have called the 'Fordist' organisation of life. This refers to an intensive regime of accumulation and the

'Fordist' mode of consumption, and the changes in the institutional forms which regulate consumption activities. Fordism transformed the inter-generational relations, and monetary regulation replaced reciprocity as the major form of regulating social activities within civil society. In this situation the enforcement of a moral and normative order stressing restraint and hard work became difficult to enforce. Indeed this moral and normative order was replaced by an ethic of consumerism. This ethic has been adopted by the under-class and is a dominant feature of the value system of the under-class. These changes in the regulation of social activities stand at the heart of the changing value system which accompanies drug consumption. However, they are not sufficient on their own to explain drug consumption, which is associated with the way in which we experience time and space, which has been compressed under Fordism (Harvey, 1989). We considered these issues in Chapter Six and stressed the importance of the changed nature of our experience of space and time as an important part in the explanation for the emergence of illicit drugs.

However, the desire to intensify experiences of the moment, and to reject the contribution and reward norms of society depended also upon the changing nature of primary regulation which made it possible for some persons to reject the contribution norms. The changing nature of the organisation of production and consumption has meant that norms and values based upon contributions in terms of waged labour, and consumption circumscribed by the receipt of a wage, become unenforceable. In Chapters Five and Six we set out the regulatory basis upon which the rejection of the contribution norms started to occur on a quite widespread basis from the end of the 1960s. The increasing fluidity of society based upon monetised recreation and leisure, the private and individual use of the means of consumption, and the loosening of inter-generational relations contributed to

the climate in which the normative and moral order became irrelevant to a section of society locked into the predatory under-class.

We have drawn attention already to the way in which the persons profiled in the vignettes appeared to be free from the direction and control of the established generation. This formal freedom has its origins in the changing nature of secondary regulation which increased the predatory potential of society. In order to complete our understanding of predatory activity, however, we need to re-examine the exclusion tendency and the way in which it is activated and interacts with the predatory potential of society. The changing nature of the wage relation, from the early 1970s made entry into the labour force a problematic experience for many young persons, aggravating the predatory potential which was intensifying in New Zealand society.

The data gathered in the prison census by the Department of Justice in 1987 shows clearly that a significant number of those in prison at that time had not worked for some time prior to entering prison, and few prisoners expressed concern about their financial situation, suggesting that they achieved their means of consumption through the receipt of a social welfare benefit, and participation in predatory activity (Braybrooke and O'Neil, 1988). In most cases of those profiled, the transition from adolescence to adulthood occurred in the 1970s when entry to, and participation in waged work was becoming difficult for some people. These experiences were consistent with the way in which the exclusion tendency operated in this period as a result of the changes in the regime of accumulation, which we dealt with in Chapter Four. The events and experiences of these persons profiled in the vignettes can be understood and explained in terms of the way in which the predatory potential interacted with the exclusion tendency, which

was activated by the changing nature of the wage relation and the inadequacy of the means of consumption of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

The normative and moral order which guides and regulates the concrete activities of everyday life has weakened, and this weakening became more pronounced from 1955 onwards. The present nature of secondary regulatory forces means that social activities are fluid and flexible. However, the formal freedom has the potential to create a social vacuum if individuals lack the means of consumption consistent with their desires, which very often reflect values of consumerism. This lack of resources is a potentially dangerous and volatile situation. It can mean that some people exist with inadequate means of consumption and are detached from any form of collective activity, which Durkheim called egoism (Durkheim, 1951). It is in this environment that alternative forms of activity emerge, many of which are of a predatory nature.

We have mentioned the hazardous nature of the predatory social relations which characterise the underground economy. The regulation of the social relations in which the activities of the underground economy are organised are highly volatile and fragile, giving rise to often bizarre and dangerous activities. These social relations represent the conditions of existence of those enmeshed in the cycle of imprisonment and offending. As we have shown, these social conditions are very unstable and the potential for criminal offending is also high. These persons are embedded in these conditions, and seem to be unable to break free, largely because they are excluded from participation in waged work and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The problem is one of exclusion from the mainstream and the forces which reproduce this exclusion. The truth is that the honour of thieves does not exist, rather the social relations of the underground economy

are predatory and characterised by suspicion, distrust and violence.

ii. The Crime of Maori Persons 1970 to 1985

Throughout the 1970s the rate of arrests among Maori persons for disorder and violent offences increased quite sharply with the rise ranging from a rate of 119.83 to 193.22 per 10,000, and from 151.28 to 373.65 per 10,000 respectively. In the case of non-Maori the corresponding rates were 18.23 to 33.78 per 10,000 and 48.21 and 91.36 per 10,000 for violent and disorder offences respectively. In this same period arrest rates for dishonesty offending ranged between 392.53 to 708.57 per 10,000 for Maori males and 80.66 to 159.66 per 10,000 for non-Maori males (see Tables 7.38 to 7.43). These figures confirm the very high incidence of criminal activity involving Maori persons. The high imbalance in the disorder figures suggest selective policing practices, and this is the key point made by Kelsey and Young (1982:49-66).

The police established in the summer of 1972/73 Task Force policing, later called Team Policing. This form of policing was established to combat the rising level of violence and disorder within society, associated it was thought, by the extension of the hotel opening hours in 1967. We suggested in Chapter Five that the extension of hotel hours was an important element in the transformation of the regulation of recreation and leisure from reciprocity to monetary exchange. The control and regulation of the extended hotel opening hours created problems within the hotels themselves and at times of closing. According to Kelsey and Young (1982) the gangs were seen as a major factor contributing to the problem of lawlessness and disorder. It is clear that the police did establish barriers to the social movement and mobility of Maori persons at this time. The

extended opening of the hotels changed the nature of recreation and leisure, which created new problems of social control. One of the responses by the police was the Task Force and/or Team Policing strategy. In this period the intensity of the exclusion tendency began to increase, adversely affecting many Maori persons.

By 1979 the police were acknowledging publicly that the Maori gangs were a problem and the violence and inter-gang conflict was mentioned in the police report to Parliament in that year (AJHR H17 1979). As Kelsey and Young (1982) make clear there was also a widespread concern within the wider society of the threat which gangs posed to order and stability. The moral panic reflected itself in the reaction of the press particularly in the Auckland area. The selective policing, however, added an important dimension to the social relations between the excluded Maori persons and wider society aggravating and exacerbating their exclusion in ways which were specific to Maori.

However, the actions of the police do not exhaust the special forces which impacted upon Maori and we want now to consider inter-gang conflict and the relationship between the gangs and the mainstream of Maori society.

There are a series of contradictory and volatile social forces which impact upon each other and which affect some Maori in New Zealand society. In addition to the way in which the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency interact, we need to consider the way in which the selective strategies of the police have defined the social relations of the gangs. In addition the formation and reproduction of gangs has resulted in the formation and reproduction of rival gang groupings which in the impoverished and alienated conditions leads to volatile and violent relations among the gangs themselves. Another factor concerns the problematic relationship

between the mainstream of Maori society and the gangs (Fleras, 1980). All of the features add up to an extremely tense and dangerous situation, which has the potential for serious cases of violence and disorder. We do not consider, however, that the security of the state is at stake, and that the police and other enforcement agencies are able to manage the problem, but serious cases of violence are likely to break out from time to time involving the gangs.

iii. The Specific Nature of the Imprisonment-Offending Cycle in the Current Period, and the Dilemma of the Criminal Justice System

The expanded nature of legal sanctions enacted since 1954 has meant that even though the rates of offending have expanded considerably, the rates of imprisonment have not increased at the same rate. The point is that imprisonment is used as a last resort form of punishment.[17] The situation has been reached, however, where, because of the nature of the predatory potential and the way in which this interacts with the activation and operation of the exclusion tendency, a core of offenders has built up who are more or less permanently offending when not serving prison sentences. The sentencing and punishment options have been exhausted for these persons and a continual routine of offending and imprisonment exists. We have argued that the main explanation for the pattern of offending lies in the way in which the predatory potential interacts with the exclusion tendency, and that in the period between 1970 and the mid-eighties an intense and dangerous relationship exists. The operation of the criminal justice system does not seem able to reduce the level of crime and acts as a 'manager' of the problem, attempting to keep the rate of offending within limits although these limits are never specified in any precise way.

This raises the question of what sort of response is likely to reduce the rates of crime which would enable those locked into the cycle of offending and imprisonment to break out of that cycle and to be able to lead stable and constructive lives. A necessary but probably insufficient requirement involves aligning contributions and rewards, thereby creating widespread participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The response of the criminal justice system is limited to the realm of integration, that is, attempting to deter and punish, to resocialise or rehabilitate persons into the mainstream of New Zealand society. Our argument is that without a reconstruction of the wage relation and a fair and equitable distribution of the means of consumption the exclusion tendency and the predatory potential will continue to operate at an intense level with little chance of reducing the volume of crime. The pattern of crime may well change, and with it the way in which imprisonment is used, but in the absence of social reconstruction the predatory under-class will remain an excluded and marginal group in our society.[18] In the next Chapter we consider some of the issues which are required to make some impact upon the present character of the imprisonment-offending cycle and reduce the rate of offending.

Notes

1. The importance of the potential for predatory activities will become more obvious when we analyse this potential in the period from 1945 until the present.

2. We draw a distinction between serious violence and disorder violence. Disorder violence is limited to minor assault cases which are largely related to fights, occurring as part of recreation and leisure activities. Serious violence on the other hand is connected to cases such as murder, manslaughter and grievous bodily harm.

Disorder offences refer to such cases as drunkenness, disorderly behaviour, resisting arrest and gambling offences, all or many of which are related to leisure and recreation activities.

3. This is the view of Olssen (1984:262) who points to the discriminatory actions of the police against the itinerant labouring class.

4. Phillips (1987:75) records that in 1920 the consumption of beer per head was 55 litres per year, which fell to 25 litres during the depression of the 1930s. In 1941 consumption was 51 litres per head.

5. We have calculated the Police labour time by multiplying the number of police officers recorded in the report to the House of Representatives by 45 hours per week for 50 weeks. We have then calculated the offences per 10,000 hours of police labour time. We have then used the same calculation to assess the amount of police labour in relation to the total population. This indicates that the ratio of police to the population increased during the 1920s and 1930s.

6. In 1923 659 males were sentenced to imprisonment for crimes of dishonesty, and 31.86% of these persons were under 25 years of age. In 1936 554 males were sentenced to imprisonment for dishonesty and 52.34% were under 25 years.

7. In our Tables we have consolidated all dishonesty offences into one category, and have not shown offending such as car conversion separately. However, a perusal of the Department of Justice Statistics shows a clear and unmistakable rise in the frequency of car conversion cases, as follows: 1936 578; 1947 576; 1951 528; and 1976 4270. In 1923 29.33% of those sentenced to imprisonment for dishonesty offences were under 25 years

of age. This had increased to 35.51% in 1936 indicating a lowering in the age of offenders for dishonesty offences.

8. In 1925, for example, 500 British seamen were sentenced to imprisonment for illegal industrial action.

9. This was alluded to by the Secretary of the Police Department in the report to the House of Representatives in 1953 (AJHR H11). During the years 1954 to 1958 the offences reported to the Police were a small summary while the procedures for collecting and reporting offences was upgraded. The extended series started again in 1959. This accounts for the gap in our Tables dealing with offences reported to the police in the years 1954 to 1958.

10. The Totalisator Agency Board was established in 1949 to provide an alternative means of betting on race horses apart from attending a race meeting. The aim was to reduce the volume of illegal gambling. It was also felt that a levy on off-course betting would assist the racing industry by providing higher stakes for races, and improving facilities at race courses.

11. See Soler (1989) where the Mazengarb report is reviewed.

12. We start our analysis of the Police offence statistics from 1959 (Tables 7.7 to 7.13). In the intervening period the police had improved their data gathering techniques which weakens the data as a time series. However, the Magistrate's Court, Prisoners Received and Arrest data provide a basis for a time series analysis.

13. We have referred for the most part to violence, disorder and dishonesty offending, but in this period

there were noticeable increases in offences against the justice system, in property damage cases and in the rates for those sentenced to prison for traffic offences. The rise in the imprisonment rates for offences against the justice system relate largely to persons not paying fines, breaches of probation and escaping from custody. This reflects a willingness by some to defy the criminal justice system.

14. A fence in one who is involved in the recycling of stolen property. A tea leaf is a petty thief.

15. It is difficult to obtain reliable evidence concerning the volume of illegal cannabis trade. However, the anecdotal evidence all points towards a significant volume of activity. For example, a government committee examining the use of insecticides was advised that the cannabis crop in Northland was higher than any other cash crop in that region. This information was conveyed to the author in a private conversation by a member of the committee.

16. There is evidence of illegal car dealing activities uncovered by the Holmes Television programme recently on Thursday 22nd March, 1990.

17. Imprisonment as a last resort has been a recurrent theme in government policy since at least 1954 with the passing of the Criminal Justice Act in that year. In 1985 this was modified to the extent that emphasis is now placed upon imprisonment as the appropriate way of dealing with violent offending.

18. Since the passing of the Criminal Justice Amendment Act 1985 imprisonment is reserved primarily for violent offenders. The Department of Justice has constructed what they call a seriousness scale of offences. The seriousness scale is linked to the severity of sentences

imposed in the Courts, and Spier, Luketina and Kettles (1990) show how the emphasis upon crimes of violence and imprisonment is changing the character of the penal population where the predatory under-class are being controlled around crimes of violence which have come to pervade the operation of the underground economy.

APPENDIX

Table 7.7 Number of Offences Reported to Police - Serious Violence, Disorder Violence and Sexual Offences, 1945 to 1985.

	SERIOUS VIOLENCE	DISORDER VIOLENCE	SEXUAL
1945	121	711	400
1946	104	713	396
1947	111	780	462
1948	125	801	446
1949	85	867	465
1950	83	865	468
1951	104	995	521
1952	109	918	580
1953	137	1,077	776
1954	147	1,074	1,004
1955	-	-	-
1956	-	-	-
1957	-	-	-
1958	-	-	-
1959	653	2,789	1,355
1960	743	3,100	1,627
1961	736	2,278	1,754
1962	1,639	2,545	2,803
1963	1,216	2,837	2,489
1964	1,211	3,003	2,809
1965	1,673	3,710	2,977
1966	1,629	3,915	2,938
1967	1,478	4,186	2,598
1968	1,394	4,673	2,636
1969	1,733	4,780	2,817
1970	1,783	5,755	2,811
1971	2,030	6,980	3,117
1972	2,343	7,600	3,530
1973	3,202	8,068	3,406
1974	3,568	7,885	2,819
1975	4,244	8,390	2,663
1976	4,537	8,060	2,578
1977	4,739	7,806	2,539
1978	3,510	8,795	2,402
1979	4,358	9,864	2,401
1980	4,609	10,068	2,558
1981	4,738	10,558	2,611
1982	5,441	11,259	2,665
1983	6,339	13,906	2,967
1984	7,140	13,403	3,137
1985	8,418	13,563	3,126

Source: AJHR H17 1946 to 1986

Table 7.8 Number of Offences Reported to Police - Drugs, Disorder and Dishonesty Offences, 1945 to 1985.

	DRUGS	DISORDER	DISHONESTY
1945	31	8,530	12,673
1946	81	9,566	11,773
1947	56	10,635	11,863
1948	56	10,328	13,064
1949	57	9,436	11,909
1950	77	9,525	11,200
1951	46	11,220	11,902
1952	28	13,071	13,013
1953	39	13,335	13,826
1954	17	14,083	15,269
1955	-	-	-
1956	-	-	-
1957	-	-	-
1958	-	-	-
1959	48	13,543	43,715
1960	149	16,330	50,036
1961	48	15,756	47,621
1962	60	19,675	56,923
1963	99	18,084	57,219
1964	141	19,165	57,045
1965	144	21,284	63,268
1966	140	20,572	69,568
1967	46	20,734	75,013
1968	295	23,976	83,860
1969	208	20,781	84,815
1970	415	22,079	92,778
1971	741	23,215	109,196
1972	986	22,346	117,445
1973	1,572	21,434	116,757
1974	2,357	24,178	127,989
1975	2,964	28,123	145,328
1976	2,769	29,240	157,053
1977	3,055	26,683	171,758
1978	4,998	30,594	184,307
1979	6,949	40,313	186,764
1980	8,691	41,520	209,521
1981	8,947	38,148	216,678
1982	11,615	31,989	234,634
1983	11,599	37,672	259,636
1984	14,795	34,070	264,086
1985	15,597	34,284	298,358

Source: AJHR H17 1946 to 1986

Table 7.9 Number of Offences Reported to Police - Property Damage, Justice Offences and Traffic Offences, 1945 to 1985.

	PROPERTY DAMAGE	JUSTICE	TRAFFIC
1945	865	215	6,207
1946	744	204	5,855
1947	679	271	5,377
1948	781	319	6,438
1949	751	218	6,348
1950	800	271	7,305
1951	903	283	7,988
1952	793	242	8,981
1953	1,000	279	9,851
1954	1,039	297	11,249
1955	-	-	-
1956	-	-	-
1957	-	-	-
1958	-	-	-
1959	3,702	511	20,490
1960	5,084	470	23,164
1961	4,755	587	19,127
1962	4,909	786	23,319
1963	4,805	854	22,830
1964	4,777	782	25,250
1965	5,270	910	28,773
1966	5,620	904	26,370
1967	5,675	1,028	24,382
1968	5,711	978	23,666
1969	6,140	1,018	25,998
1970	6,745	1,274	26,422
1971	8,377	1,544	26,314
1972	9,909	1,487	29,148
1973	10,830	1,449	30,303
1974	11,414	1,289	28,207
1975	11,887	1,359	18,867
1976	12,695	1,260	17,914
1977	14,537	1,235	16,230
1978	21,758	2,946	15,651
1979	25,405	3,048	17,462
1980	27,255	3,793	19,415
1981	29,428	3,684	21,251
1982	29,165	3,597	23,673
1983	36,916	3,470	23,925
1984	36,490	3,408	23,976
1985	36,942	3,117	22,227

Source: AJHR H17 1946 to 1986

Table 7.10 Number of Offences Reported to Police - Family Offences, Suicide, Miscellaneous Offences and Total Offences, 1945 to 1985.

	FAMILY	SUICIDE	MISCELLANEOUS	TOTAL
1945	2,452	78	827	33,110
1946	2,716	61	1,277	33,490
1947	3,033	70	1,291	34,628
1948	3,121	87	1,474	37,040
1949	2,756	66	1,464	34,422
1950	2,831	71	1,894	35,390
1951	3,018	81	1,643	38,704
1952	3,160	52	1,693	42,640
1953	3,825	69	1,803	46,017
1954	4,233	55	1,983	50,450
1955	-	-	-	-
1956	-	-	-	-
1957	-	-	-	-
1958	-	-	-	-
1959	185	0	3,009	90,000
1960	334	0	3,197	104,234
1961	275	0	2,899	95,836
1962	619	44	2,569	115,891
1963	610	9	2,792	113,844
1964	689	8	3,127	118,007
1965	927	1	3,345	132,282
1966	624	2	3,340	135,622
1967	462	6	3,951	139,559
1968	59	0	4,608	151,856
1969	53	0	5,445	153,788
1970	72	0	5,625	165,759
1971	88	0	5,832	187,434
1972	58	0	5,827	200,679
1973	65	1	5,622	202,709
1974	57	1	5,524	215,288
1975	83	1	6,704	230,613
1976	73	0	7,079	243,258
1977	61	1	7,019	255,663
1978	545	1	6,675	282,182
1979	603	6	15,042	312,215
1980	678	6	24,307	352,421
1981	562	1	33,543	370,149
1982	661	2	43,831	398,532
1983	691	2	54,361	451,484
1984	1,082	0	64,985	466,572
1985	861	2	75,027	511,522

Source: AJHR H17 1946 to 1986

Table 7.11 Rate Per 10,000 of Population of Offences Reported To Police - Serious Violence, Disorder Violence, Sexual Offences and Disorder Offences, 1945 to 1985.

	SERIOUS VIOLENCE	DISORDER VIOLENCE	SEXUAL	DRUGS	DISORDER
1945	0.73	4.27	2.40	0.19	51.24
1946	0.61	4.17	2.31	0.47	55.92
1947	0.63	4.41	2.61	0.32	52.82
1948	0.69	4.43	2.47	0.31	57.14
1949	0.46	4.70	2.52	0.31	51.18
1950	0.44	4.60	2.49	0.41	50.63
1951	0.54	5.19	2.72	0.24	58.50
1952	0.56	4.69	2.96	0.14	66.73
1953	0.68	5.36	3.86	0.19	66.36
1954	0.65	4.43	3.47	0.27	55.34
1955	-	-	-	-	-
1956	-	-	-	-	-
1957	-	-	-	-	-
1958	-	-	-	-	-
1959	2.84	12.13	5.89	0.21	58.91
1960	3.17	13.22	6.94	0.64	69.62
1961	3.08	9.54	7.35	0.20	65.98
1962	6.71	10.42	11.48	0.25	80.55
1963	4.86	11.34	9.95	0.40	72.26
1964	4.74	11.74	10.99	0.55	74.95
1965	6.43	14.26	11.44	0.55	81.82
1966	6.15	14.79	11.10	0.53	77.71
1967	5.48	15.53	9.64	0.17	86.93
1968	5.09	17.07	9.63	1.08	87.60
1969	6.27	17.23	10.20	0.75	75.21
1970	6.39	20.64	10.08	1.49	79.17
1971	7.17	24.65	11.01	2.62	82.00
1972	8.15	26.43	12.28	3.43	77.71
1973	10.94	27.56	11.63	5.37	73.21
1974	11.95	26.40	9.44	7.89	80.96
1975	13.93	27.54	8.74	9.73	92.30
1976	14.65	26.02	8.32	8.94	94.41
1977	15.19	25.01	8.14	9.79	85.50
1978	11.22	28.11	7.68	15.97	97.78
1979	13.93	31.52	7.67	22.21	128.83
1980	14.75	32.22	8.19	27.81	132.88
1981	14.83	33.04	8.17	28.00	119.37
1982	16.85	34.86	8.25	35.96	99.04
1983	19.39	42.53	9.07	35.48	115.22
1984	21.64	40.62	9.51	44.84	103.26
1985	25.42	40.96	9.44	47.10	103.54

Source: AJHR H17 1946 to 1986

Table 7.12 Rate Per 10,000 of Population of Offences Reported To Police - Dishonesty Offences, Property Damage, Justice Offences and Traffic Offences, 1945 to 1985.

	DISHONESTY	PROPERTY DAMAGE	JUSTICE	TRAFFIC
1945	76.13	5.20	1.29	37.29
1946	68.82	4.35	1.19	34.23
1947	67.42	3.64	1.42	36.80
1948	72.27	4.32	1.76	35.62
1949	64.59	4.07	1.18	34.43
1950	59.53	4.25	1.44	38.83
1951	62.06	4.71	1.48	41.65
1952	66.44	4.05	1.24	45.85
1953	68.80	4.98	1.39	49.02
1954	68.46	4.85	1.36	40.35
1955	-	-	-	-
1956	-	-	-	-
1957	-	-	-	-
1958	-	-	-	-
1959	190.16	16.10	2.22	89.13
1960	213.32	21.67	2.00	98.76
1961	199.42	19.91	2.46	80.10
1962	233.03	20.10	3.22	95.46
1963	228.65	19.20	3.41	91.23
1964	223.09	18.68	3.06	98.75
1965	243.22	20.26	3.50	110.61
1966	262.80	21.23	3.41	99.61
1967	278.31	21.06	3.81	90.46
1968	306.39	20.87	3.57	86.47
1969	306.96	22.22	3.68	94.09
1970	332.68	24.19	4.57	94.74
1971	385.69	29.59	5.45	92.94
1972	408.43	34.46	5.17	101.37
1973	398.80	36.99	4.95	103.50
1974	428.56	38.22	4.32	94.45
1975	476.95	39.01	4.46	61.92
1976	507.10	40.99	4.07	57.84
1977	550.38	46.58	3.96	52.01
1978	589.05	69.54	9.42	50.02
1979	596.84	81.19	9.74	55.80
1980	670.53	87.22	12.14	62.13
1981	678.01	92.08	11.53	66.50
1982	726.47	90.30	11.14	73.30
1983	794.12	112.91	10.61	73.18
1984	800.38	110.59	10.53	72.67
1985	901.03	111.56	9.41	67.12

Source: AJHR H17 1946 to 1986

Table 7.13 Rate Per 10,000 of Population of Offences Reported to Police - Family Offences, Suicide, Miscellaneous and Total Offences, 1945 to 1985.

	FAMILY	SUICIDE	MISCELLANEOUS	TOTAL
1945	14.73	0.47	4.97	198.91
1946	15.88	0.36	7.46	195.77
1947	76.24	0.42	7.52	254.23
1948	17.27	0.48	8.15	204.91
1949	14.95	0.36	7.94	186.69
1950	15.05	0.38	10.07	188.11
1951	15.74	0.42	8.57	201.80
1952	16.13	0.27	8.64	217.69
1953	19.03	0.34	8.97	229.00
1954	21.23	0.41	6.98	206.96
1955	-	-	-	-
1956	-	-	-	-
1957	-	-	-	-
1958	-	-	-	-
1959	0.80	0.00	13.09	391.51
1960	1.42	0.00	13.63	444.38
1961	1.15	0.00	12.14	401.32
1962	2.53	0.18	10.52	474.44
1963	2.44	0.04	11.16	454.92
1964	2.69	0.03	12.23	461.49
1965	3.56	0.00	12.86	508.54
1966	2.36	0.01	12.62	512.32
1967	1.71	0.02	14.66	517.78
1968	0.22	0.00	16.84	554.82
1969	0.19	0.00	19.71	556.58
1970	0.26	0.00	20.17	594.37
1971	0.31	0.00	20.60	662.03
1972	0.20	0.00	20.26	697.89
1973	0.22	0.00	19.20	692.38
1974	0.19	0.00	18.50	720.87
1975	0.27	0.00	22.00	756.85
1976	0.24	0.00	22.86	785.44
1977	0.20	0.00	22.49	819.25
1978	1.74	0.00	21.33	901.86
1979	1.93	0.02	48.07	997.75
1980	2.17	0.02	77.79	1127.86
1981	1.76	0.00	104.96	1158.24
1982	2.05	0.01	135.71	1233.92
1983	2.11	0.01	166.27	1380.90
1984	3.28	0.00	196.95	1414.07
1985	2.60	0.01	226.58	1544.78

Source: AJHR H17 1946 to 1986

Table 7.14 Total Charges Brought in Magistrate's Court - Serious Violence, Disorder Violence, Sexual and Drugs Offences, 1947 to 1981.

	SERIOUS VIOLENCE	DISORDER VIOLENCE	SEXUAL	DRUGS
1947	93	706	341	73
1948	92	723	270	67
1949	103	770	369	75
1950	67	775	301	97
1951	106	845	361	61
1952	79	768	393	68
1953	141	870	586	52
1954	200	954	605	21
1955	212	926	592	60
1957	132	1,101	709	35
1958	203	1,229	818	95
1959	184	1,159	543	64
1960	235	1,366	601	174
1961	198	1,431	826	80
1962	185	1,782	1,067	21
1963	231	1,865	817	83
1964	176	1,995	968	106
1965	358	2,481	1,181	163
1966	394	2,886	909	101
1967	405	3,228	936	134
1968	392	3,542	893	235
1969	405	3,807	807	282
1970	455	4,326	871	371
1971	575	4,809	660	787
1972	521	5,252	895	855
1973	703	6,280	995	1,517
1974	928	6,436	958	2,214
1975	1,112	7,445	884	2,614
1976	1,335	7,129	868	2,578
1977	2,163	5,447	2,399	3,251
1978	2,211	5,212	709	4,026
1979	2,438	4,682	747	4,818
1980	2,637	5,269	671	7,296
1981	2,577	5,495	641	7,106

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1947 to 1981

Table 7.15 Total Charges Brought In Magistrate's Court - Disorder, Dishonesty, Property Damage and Justice Offences, 1947 to 1981.

	DISORDER	DISHONESTY	PROPERTY DAMAGE	JUSTICE
1947	10,275	6,035	493	279
1948	11,076	6,088	510	380
1949	11,136	5,433	541	240
1950	10,781	5,091	482	314
1951	12,105	4,845	464	305
1952	14,115	5,459	428	323
1953	14,959	5,632	545	269
1954	15,808	6,185	676	312
1955	15,166	6,188	636	323
1957	17,089	8,753	1,020	536
1958	14,027	10,316	1,130	935
1959	13,154	10,403	939	562
1960	13,550	10,360	1,205	711
1961	13,915	9,622	1,117	637
1962	15,014	11,120	1,167	630
1963	14,991	12,004	1,187	706
1964	14,428	12,280	1,101	701
1965	16,797	13,118	1,293	949
1966	17,030	14,820	1,494	1,034
1967	18,312	17,004	1,569	1,078
1968	18,717	20,350	1,608	1,239
1969	18,405	18,876	1,838	1,479
1970	17,558	19,868	1,966	1,757
1971	18,938	21,919	2,096	1,793
1972	17,698	23,027	2,377	1,447
1973	16,902	22,959	3,058	1,687
1974	20,705	24,202	3,372	1,802
1975	23,381	29,973	3,247	1,901
1976	25,708	34,528	3,339	1,820
1977	25,191	38,745	4,132	3,505
1978	23,026	36,431	4,016	3,317
1979	24,511	32,950	4,408	2,855
1980	29,884	37,890	4,350	3,534
1981	25,405	38,284	4,584	3,670

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1947 to 1981

Table 7.16 Total Charges Brought in Magistrate's Court - Traffic, Family, Suicide, Miscellaneous and Total Offences, 1947 to 1981.

	TRAFFIC	FAMILY	SUICIDE	MISCELLANEOUS	TOTAL
1947	20,452	4,463	55	1,589	4,854
1948	21,964	4,367	58	1,672	7,267
1949	27,908	4,144	46	1,634	2,399
1950	30,609	3,842	50	1,939	4,348
1951	34,063	3,627	53	1,690	58,525
1952	47,610	4,130	29	1,213	74,615
1953	54,433	4,650	46	1,501	83,684
1954	50,309	4,711	47	1,745	81,573
1955	46,541	4,830	59	1,754	77,287
1957	63,950	4,942	42	1,636	99,945
1958	75,731	5,223	38	1,712	111,457
1959	71,817	5,340	32	1,927	106,124
1960	81,642	4,733	19	1,426	116,022
1961	90,294	4,381	14	1,549	124,064
1962	102,357	5,022	2	1,581	139,948
1963	111,225	5,253	0	1,351	149,713
1964	132,458	5,763	0	1,691	171,667
1965	150,775	6,425	0	590	194,130
1966	170,972	7,178	0	522	217,340
1967	198,004	7,892	1	519	249,082
1968	247,434	8,411	1	445	303,267
1969	181,879	8,440	1	448	236,667
1970	178,491	3,284	2	521	229,470
1971	168,978	3,055	0	541	224,151
1972	192,274	3,760	2	553	248,661
1973	226,957	3,648	0	646	285,352
1974	254,327	3,788	0	868	319,590
1975	261,755	4,386	1	1,438	338,137
1976	303,961	5,839	1	1,723	388,829
1977	295,917	6,230	0	1,516	388,500
1978	281,176	3,548	0	1,153	364,925
1979	306,977	22	1	1,213	381,193
1980	297,910	28	1	1,513	390,983
1981	255,867	30	0	1,325	344,984

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1947 to 1981

Table 7.17 Rate Per 10,000 of the Population of Total Charges Brought in Magistrate's Court - Serious Violence, Disorder Violence, Sexual and Drugs Offences, 1947 to 1981.

	SERIOUS VIOLENCE	DISORDER VIOLENCE	SEXUAL	DRUGS
1947	0.53	3.99	1.93	0.41
1948	0.51	4.00	1.49	0.37
1949	0.56	4.18	2.00	0.41
1950	0.55	4.41	1.88	0.32
1952	0.40	3.92	2.01	0.35
1953	0.70	4.33	2.92	0.26
1954	0.97	4.63	2.93	0.10
1955	1.01	4.40	2.81	0.28
1957	0.60	5.02	3.23	0.16
1958	0.90	5.47	3.64	0.42
1959	0.80	5.04	2.36	0.28
1960	1.00	5.82	2.56	0.74
1961	0.83	5.99	3.46	0.34
1962	0.76	7.30	4.37	0.09
1963	0.92	7.45	3.26	0.33
1964	0.69	7.80	3.79	0.41
1965	1.38	9.54	4.54	0.63
1966	1.49	10.90	3.43	0.38
1967	1.50	11.98	3.47	0.50
1968	1.44	12.97	3.27	0.86
1969	1.47	13.78	2.92	1.02
1970	1.63	15.51	3.12	1.33
1971	2.03	16.99	2.33	2.78
1972	1.81	18.26	3.11	2.97
1973	2.40	21.45	3.40	5.18
1974	3.11	21.55	3.21	7.41
1975	3.65	24.43	2.90	8.58
1976	4.31	23.02	2.80	8.32
1977	6.93	17.45	7.69	10.42
1978	7.07	16.66	2.27	12.87
1979	7.79	14.96	2.39	15.40
1980	8.44	16.86	2.15	23.35
1981	8.06	17.19	2.01	22.24

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1947 to 1981

Table 7.18 Rate Per 10,000 of the Population of Total Charges Brought in Magistrate's Court - Disorder, Dishonesty, Property Damage and Justice Offences, 1947 to 1981.

	DISORDER	DISHONESTY	PROPERTY DAMAGE	JUSTICE
1947	58.04	34.09	2.78	1.58
1948	61.27	33.68	2.82	2.10
1949	60.40	29.47	2.93	1.30
1950	57.31	27.06	2.56	1.67
1951	63.11	25.26	2.42	1.59
1952	72.06	27.87	2.19	1.65
1953	74.44	28.03	2.71	1.34
1954	76.69	30.00	3.28	1.51
1955	72.02	29.39	3.02	1.53
1957	77.89	39.89	4.65	2.44
1958	62.45	45.93	5.03	4.16
1959	57.22	45.25	4.08	2.44
1960	57.77	44.17	5.14	3.03
1961	58.27	40.29	4.68	2.67
1962	61.46	45.52	4.78	2.58
1963	59.90	47.97	4.74	2.82
1964	56.42	48.02	4.31	2.74
1965	64.57	50.43	4.97	3.65
1966	64.33	55.98	5.64	3.91
1967	67.94	63.09	5.82	4.00
1968	68.55	74.53	5.89	4.54
1969	66.61	68.31	6.65	5.35
1970	62.96	71.24	7.05	6.30
1971	66.89	77.42	7.40	6.33
1972	61.55	80.08	8.27	5.03
1973	57.73	78.42	10.45	5.76
1974	69.33	81.04	11.29	6.03
1975	76.73	98.37	10.66	6.24
1976	83.01	111.48	10.78	5.88
1977	80.72	124.15	13.24	11.23
1978	73.59	116.43	12.84	10.60
1979	78.33	105.30	14.09	9.12
1980	95.64	121.26	13.92	11.31
1981	79.49	119.79	14.34	11.48

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1947 to 1981

Table 7.19 Rate Per 10,000 of the Population of Total Charges Brought in Magistrate's Court - Traffic, Family, Suicide, Miscellaneous and Total Offences, 1947 to 1981.

	TRAFFIC	FAMILY	SUICIDE	MISCELLANEOUS	TOTAL
1947	115.53	25.21	0.31	8.98	253.37
1948	121.51	24.16	0.32	9.25	261.49
1949	151.36	22.48	0.25	8.86	284.20
1950	162.70	20.42	0.27	10.31	288.88
1951	177.60	18.91	0.28	8.81	305.15
1952	243.07	21.09	0.15	6.19	380.94
1953	270.88	23.14	0.23	7.47	416.44
1954	244.06	22.85	0.23	8.47	395.72
1955	221.02	22.94	0.28	8.33	367.03
1957	291.46	22.52	0.19	7.46	455.52
1958	337.17	23.25	0.17	7.62	496.23
1959	312.41	23.23	0.14	8.38	461.65
1960	348.06	20.18	0.08	6.08	494.64
1961	378.11	18.35	0.06	6.49	519.53
1962	419.03	20.56	0.01	6.47	572.92
1963	444.46	20.99	0.00	5.40	598.26
1964	518.01	22.54	0.00	6.61	671.34
1965	579.63	24.70	0.00	2.27	746.30
1966	645.86	27.12	0.00	1.97	821.02
1967	734.62	29.28	0.00	1.93	924.13
1968	906.23	30.81	0.00	1.63	1110.72
1969	658.24	30.55	0.00	1.62	856.52
1970	640.02	11.78	0.01	1.87	822.82
1971	596.84	10.79	0.00	1.91	791.71
1972	668.66	13.08	0.01	1.92	864.76
1973	775.21	12.46	0.00	2.21	974.66
1974	851.59	12.68	0.00	2.91	1070.12
1975	859.06	14.39	0.00	4.72	1109.74
1976	981.44	18.85	0.00	5.56	1255.46
1977	948.24	19.96	0.00	4.86	1244.91
1978	898.64	11.34	0.00	3.69	1166.30
1979	981.01	.07	0.00	3.88	1218.18
1980	953.40	.09	0.00	4.84	1251.27
1981	800.64	.09	0.00	4.15	1079.49

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1947 to 1981

Table 7.20 Number of Prisoners Received for Serious Violence, Disorder Violence, Sexual and Drugs Offences, 1945 to 1984.

	SERIOUS VIOLENCE	DISORDER VIOLENCE	SEXUAL	DRUGS
1945	30	101	79	5
1946	34	74	91	4
1947	38	93	112	4
1948	31	76	85	2
1949	34	103	99	1
1950	31	111	132	4
1951	34	120	113	0
1952	18	117	133	2
1953	41	115	175	0
1954	40	118	155	0
1955	34	110	137	1
1956	44	125	182	2
1957	45	129	178	1
1958	50	124	186	1
1959	54	112	159	1
1960	61	120	175	2
1961	62	150	202	4
1962	41	160	201	1
1963	40	186	198	5
1964	46	207	183	6
1965	73	226	184	2
1966	84	234	194	10
1967	77	283	189	14
1968	130	173	166	17
1969	103	226	143	17
1970	157	283	158	39
1971	138	365	132	67
1972	164	333	150	73
1973	235	376	185	109
1974	183	316	181	107
1975	241	281	155	203
1976	317	295	154	222
1977	400	232	142	181
1978	403	209	144	171
1979	405	246	166	232
1980	439	195	144	225
1981	446	206	128	271
1982	479	196	146	237
1983	495	250	178	218
1984	558	232	234	303

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.21 Rate Per 10,000 of Total Population of Persons Received into Prison for Serious Violence, Disorder Violence, Sexual and Drugs Offences, 1945 to 1984.

	SERIOUS VIOLENCE	DISORDER VIOLENCE	SEXUAL	DRUGS
1945	0.18	0.61	0.47	0.03
1946	0.20	0.43	0.53	0.02
1947	0.21	0.53	0.63	0.02
1948	0.17	0.42	0.47	0.01
1949	0.18	0.56	0.54	0.01
1950	0.16	0.59	0.70	0.02
1951	0.18	0.63	0.59	0.00
1952	0.09	0.60	0.68	0.01
1953	0.20	0.57	0.87	0.00
1954	0.19	0.57	0.75	0.00
1955	0.16	0.52	0.65	0.00
1956	0.21	0.61	0.88	0.01
1957	0.21	0.59	0.81	0.00
1958	0.22	0.55	0.83	0.00
1959	0.23	0.49	0.69	0.00
1960	0.26	0.51	0.75	0.01
1961	0.26	0.63	0.85	0.02
1962	0.17	0.66	0.82	0.00
1963	0.16	0.74	0.79	0.02
1964	0.18	0.81	0.72	0.02
1965	0.28	0.87	0.71	0.01
1966	0.32	0.88	0.73	0.04
1967	0.29	1.05	0.70	0.05
1968	0.48	0.63	0.61	0.06
1969	0.37	0.82	0.52	0.06
1970	0.56	1.01	0.57	0.14
1971	0.49	1.29	0.47	0.24
1972	0.57	1.16	0.52	0.25
1973	0.80	1.28	0.63	0.37
1974	0.61	1.06	0.61	0.36
1975	0.79	0.92	0.51	0.67
1976	1.02	0.95	0.50	0.72
1977	1.28	0.74	0.46	0.58
1978	1.29	0.67	0.46	0.55
1979	1.29	0.79	0.53	0.74
1980	1.40	0.62	0.46	0.72
1981	1.40	0.64	0.40	0.85
1982	1.50	0.61	0.46	0.74
1983	1.55	0.78	0.56	0.68
1984	1.75	0.73	0.73	0.75

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.22 Percentage of Prisoners Received into Prison for Serious Violence, Disorder Violence, Sexual and Drugs Offences, 1945 to 1984.

	SERIOUS VIOLENCE	DISORDER VIOLENCE	SEXUAL	DRUGS
1945	1.45	4.89	3.83	0.24
1946	1.54	3.34	4.11	0.18
1947	1.62	3.96	4.76	0.17
1948	1.42	3.48	3.90	0.09
1949	1.90	5.76	5.54	0.06
1950	1.49	5.34	6.35	0.19
1951	1.72	6.08	5.72	0.00
1952	0.79	5.16	5.86	0.09
1953	1.74	4.89	7.43	0.00
1954	1.66	4.91	6.45	0.00
1955	1.34	4.35	5.41	0.04
1956	1.53	4.34	6.31	0.07
1957	1.48	4.25	5.86	0.03
1958	1.64	4.06	6.09	0.03
1959	1.83	3.79	5.38	0.03
1960	2.00	3.93	5.72	0.07
1961	1.93	4.67	6.29	0.12
1962	1.15	4.50	5.65	0.03
1963	1.15	5.33	5.67	0.14
1964	1.26	5.65	4.99	0.16
1965	2.07	6.42	5.23	0.06
1966	2.16	6.01	4.99	0.26
1967	1.81	6.65	4.44	0.33
1968	3.01	4.00	3.84	0.39
1969	2.61	5.74	3.63	0.43
1970	3.23	5.82	3.25	0.80
1971	2.42	6.41	2.32	1.18
1972	2.98	6.05	2.73	1.33
1973	4.71	7.54	3.71	2.18
1974	3.81	6.57	3.76	2.22
1975	4.79	5.58	3.08	4.03
1976	6.02	5.60	2.92	4.21
1977	8.42	4.88	2.99	3.81
1978	8.77	4.55	3.13	3.72
1979	8.52	5.17	3.49	4.88
1980	9.30	4.13	3.05	4.77
1981	9.64	4.45	2.77	5.86
1982	9.55	3.91	2.91	4.72
1983	8.83	4.46	3.18	3.89
1984	9.45	3.93	3.96	5.13

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.23 Number of Prisoners Received for Disorder, Dishonesty, Property Damage, Justice and Traffic Offences, 1945 to 1984.

	DISORDER	DISHONESTY	PROPERTY DAMAGE	JUSTICE	TRAFFIC
1945	250	977	8	67	13
1946	313	955	19	53	11
1947	296	1,038	10	38	10
1948	399	833	14	46	3
1949	295	760	23	51	26
1950	294	800	30	73	52
1951	291	720	33	50	155
1952	320	774	25	82	281
1953	347	836	14	62	288
1954	341	879	25	86	258
1955	367	856	34	127	324
1956	400	1,008	27	142	336
1957	436	1,114	22	145	416
1958	362	1,215	21	162	394
1959	308	1,256	39	239	354
1960	364	1,298	41	228	334
1961	350	1,309	40	233	351
1962	360	1,517	42	296	357
1963	354	1,494	47	347	336
1964	410	1,542	35	347	362
1965	276	1,468	50	351	367
1966	324	1,674	44	475	370
1967	299	1,851	55	514	441
1968	263	1,935	36	782	388
1969	228	1,761	48	744	305
1970	287	1,978	64	1,056	508
1971	336	2,265	65	1,316	762
1972	297	2,141	93	1,371	599
1973	261	1,707	101	1,084	733
1974	240	1,773	91	879	789
1975	260	2,088	72	667	760
1976	196	2,340	53	637	780
1977	203	2,187	81	547	547
1978	124	1,982	102	525	676
1979	228	2,006	91	591	538
1980	197	2,003	88	701	567
1981	130	2,040	72	664	546
1982	92	2,127	89	877	683
1983	99	2,378	92	1,063	742
1984	91	2,385	117	933	930

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.24 Rate Per 10,000 of Total Population of Persons Received into Prison for Disorder, Dishonesty, Property Damage, Justice and Traffic Offences, 1945 to 1984.

	DISORDER	DISHONESTY	PROPERTY DAMAGE	JUSTICE	TRAFFIC
1945	1.50	5.87	0.05	0.40	0.08
1946	1.83	5.58	0.11	0.31	0.06
1947	1.67	5.86	0.06	0.21	0.06
1948	2.21	4.61	0.08	0.25	0.02
1949	1.60	4.12	0.12	0.28	0.28
1950	-	-	-	-	-
1951	1.52	3.75	0.17	0.26	0.81
1952	1.63	3.95	0.13	0.42	1.43
1953	1.65	4.26	0.12	0.42	1.25
1955	1.74	4.07	0.16	0.60	1.54
1956	1.94	4.88	0.13	0.69	1.63
1957	1.99	5.08	0.10	0.66	1.90
1958	1.61	5.41	0.09	0.72	1.75
1959	1.34	5.46	0.17	1.04	1.54
1960	1.55	5.53	0.17	0.97	1.42
1961	1.47	5.48	0.17	0.98	1.47
1962	1.47	6.21	0.17	1.21	1.46
1963	1.41	5.97	0.19	1.39	1.34
1964	1.60	6.03	0.14	1.36	1.42
1965	1.06	5.64	0.19	1.35	1.41
1966	1.22	6.32	0.17	1.79	1.40
1967	1.11	6.87	0.20	1.91	1.64
1968	0.96	7.09	0.13	2.86	1.42
1969	0.83	6.37	0.17	2.69	1.10
1970	1.03	7.09	0.23	3.79	1.82
1971	1.19	8.00	0.23	4.65	2.69
1972	1.03	7.45	0.32	4.77	2.08
1973	0.89	5.83	0.34	3.70	2.50
1974	0.80	5.94	0.30	2.94	2.64
1975	0.85	6.85	0.24	2.19	2.49
1976	0.63	7.56	0.17	2.06	2.52
1977	0.65	7.01	0.26	1.75	1.75
1978	0.40	6.33	0.33	1.68	2.16
1979	0.73	6.41	0.29	1.89	1.72
1980	0.63	6.41	0.28	2.24	1.81
1981	0.41	6.38	0.23	2.08	1.71
1982	0.29	6.66	0.28	2.74	2.14
1983	0.31	7.44	0.29	3.33	2.32
1984	0.28	7.46	0.37	2.92	2.91

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.25 Percentage of Prisoners Received into Prison for Disorder, Dishonesty, Property Damage, Justice and Traffic Offences, 1945 to 1984.

	DISORDER	DISHONESTY	PROPERTY DAMAGE	JUSTICE	TRAFFIC
1945	12.11	47.31	0.39	3.24	0.63
1946	14.14	43.15	0.86	2.39	0.50
1947	12.59	44.15	0.43	1.62	0.43
1948	18.29	38.19	0.64	2.11	0.14
1949	16.50	42.51	1.29	2.85	1.45
1950	14.13	38.46	1.44	3.51	2.50
1951	14.73	36.46	1.67	2.53	7.85
1952	14.11	34.13	1.10	3.62	12.39
1953	14.74	35.51	0.59	2.63	12.23
1954	14.18	36.56	1.04	3.58	10.73
1955	14.50	33.82	1.34	5.02	12.80
1956	13.88	34.97	0.94	4.93	11.66
1957	14.36	36.68	0.72	4.77	13.70
1958	11.85	39.76	0.69	5.30	12.89
1959	10.42	42.50	1.32	8.09	11.98
1960	11.91	42.46	1.34	7.46	10.93
1961	10.91	40.79	1.25	7.26	10.94
1962	10.12	42.62	1.18	8.32	10.03
1963	10.15	42.82	1.35	9.95	9.63
1964	11.19	42.07	0.95	9.47	9.88
1965	7.84	41.70	1.42	9.97	10.43
1966	8.33	43.02	1.13	12.21	9.51
1967	7.03	43.52	1.29	12.09	10.37
1968	6.08	44.74	0.83	18.08	8.97
1969	5.79	44.70	1.22	18.88	7.74
1970	5.90	40.69	1.32	21.72	10.45
1971	5.90	39.77	1.14	23.11	13.38
1972	5.40	38.92	1.69	24.92	10.89
1973	5.23	34.21	2.02	21.72	14.69
1974	4.99	36.87	1.89	18.28	16.41
1975	5.16	41.48	1.43	13.25	15.10
1976	3.72	44.42	1.01	12.09	14.81
1977	4.27	46.03	1.70	11.51	11.51
1978	2.70	43.12	2.22	11.42	14.71
1979	4.80	42.20	1.91	12.43	11.32
1980	4.17	42.44	1.86	14.85	12.01
1981	2.81	44.08	1.56	14.35	11.80
1982	1.83	42.39	1.77	17.48	13.61
1983	1.77	42.43	1.64	18.97	13.24
1984	1.54	40.41	1.98	15.81	15.76

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.26 Number of Prisoners Received for Family, Miscellaneous and Total Prisoners Received, 1945 to 1984.

	FAMILY	MISCELLANEOUS	TOTAL
1945	181	354	2,065
1946	157	502	2,213
1947	208	504	2,351
1948	207	485	2,181
1949	175	221	1,788
1950	178	375	2,080
1951	5	454	1,975
1952	189	327	2,268
1953	218	258	2,354
1954	218	284	2,404
1955	234	307	2,531
1956	262	358	2,886
1957	264	287	3,037
1958	278	263	3,056
1959	313	120	2,955
1960	277	157	3,057
1961	261	247	3,209
1962	302	282	3,559
1963	286	196	3,489
1964	315	212	3,665
1965	298	225	3,520
1966	281	201	3,891
1967	312	218	4,253
1968	283	152	4,325
1969	242	123	3,940
1970	153	178	4,861
1971	127	122	5,695
1972	122	158	5,501
1973	99	100	4,990
1974	120	130	4,809
1975	104	203	5,034
1976	110	164	5,268
1977	81	150	4,751
1978	67	194	4,597
1979	44	207	4,754
1980	34	127	4,720
1981	15	110	4,628
1982	12	80	5,018
1983	15	75	5,605
1984	30	89	5,902

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.27 Rate Per 10,000 of Total Population of Persons Received into Prison for Family, Miscellaneous and Total Offences, 1945 to 1984.

	FAMILY	MISCELLANEOUS	TOTAL
1945	1.09	2.13	12.41
1946	0.92	2.93	12.94
1947	1.17	2.85	13.28
1948	1.15	2.68	12.07
1949	0.95	1.20	9.70
1950	0.95	1.99	11.06
1951	0.03	2.37	10.30
1952	0.96	1.67	11.58
1953	1.08	1.28	11.71
1954	1.06	1.38	11.66
1955	1.11	1.46	12.02
1956	1.27	1.73	13.98
1957	1.20	1.31	13.84
1958	1.24	1.17	13.61
1959	1.36	0.52	12.85
1960	1.18	0.67	13.03
1961	1.09	1.03	13.44
1962	1.24	1.15	14.57
1963	1.14	0.78	13.94
1964	1.23	0.83	14.33
1965	1.15	0.86	13.53
1966	1.06	0.76	14.70
1967	1.16	0.81	15.78
1968	1.04	0.56	15.84
1969	0.88	0.45	14.26
1970	0.55	0.64	17.43
1971	0.45	0.43	20.11
1972	0.42	0.55	19.13
1973	0.34	0.34	17.04
1974	0.40	0.44	16.10
1975	0.34	0.67	16.52
1976	0.36	0.53	17.01
1977	0.26	0.48	15.22
1978	0.21	0.62	14.69
1979	0.14	0.66	15.19
1980	0.11	0.41	15.11
1981	0.05	0.34	14.48
1982	0.04	0.25	15.70
1983	0.05	0.23	17.54
1984	0.09	0.28	18.47

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.28 Percentage of Prisoners Received into Prison for Family, Miscellaneous and Total Offences, 1945 to 1984.

	FAMILY	MISCELLANEOUS	TOTAL
1945	8.77	17.14	100.00
1946	7.09	22.68	100.00
1947	8.85	21.44	100.00
1948	9.49	22.24	100.00
1949	9.79	12.36	100.00
1950	8.56	18.03	100.00
1951	0.25	22.99	100.00
1952	8.33	14.42	100.00
1953	9.26	10.96	100.00
1954	9.07	11.81	100.00
1955	9.25	12.13	100.00
1956	9.09	12.42	100.00
1957	8.69	9.45	100.00
1958	9.10	8.61	100.00
1959	10.59	4.06	100.00
1960	9.06	5.14	100.00
1961	8.13	7.70	100.00
1962	8.49	7.92	100.00
1963	8.20	5.62	100.00
1964	8.59	5.78	100.00
1965	8.47	6.39	100.00
1966	7.22	5.17	100.00
1967	7.34	5.13	100.00
1968	6.54	3.51	100.00
1969	6.14	3.12	100.00
1970	3.15	3.66	100.00
1971	2.23	2.14	100.00
1972	2.22	2.87	100.00
1973	1.98	2.00	100.00
1974	2.50	2.70	100.00
1975	2.07	4.03	100.00
1976	2.09	3.11	100.00
1977	1.70	3.16	100.00
1978	1.46	4.22	100.00
1979	0.93	4.35	100.00
1980	0.72	2.69	100.00
1981	0.32	2.38	100.00
1982	0.24	1.59	100.00
1983	0.27	1.34	100.00
1984	0.51	1.51	100.00

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.29 Rate Per 10,000 of Age Cohorts Under 20 years, 20 years and 21-24 years of age of Male Non-Maori Prisoners Received into Prison, 1945 to 1981.

	< 20y	20y	21-24y
1945	26.45	64.85	77.04
1946	32.14	104.34	103.22
1947	24.00	79.78	104.34
1948	21.58	61.29	89.86
1949	13.45	31.98	55.74
1950	21.04	44.80	65.57
1951	22.86	52.00	51.32
1952	22.82	41.93	50.96
1953	17.60	32.02	54.78
1954	24.06	49.88	55.79
1955	29.16	64.13	55.90
1956	40.97	67.05	68.25
1957	43.57	68.83	65.38
1958	45.42	71.06	59.77
1959	41.05	67.74	60.89
1960	47.90	74.09	60.69
1961	55.09	83.20	69.11
1962	57.10	72.33	71.99
1963	58.73	68.65	70.05
1964	64.79	62.51	70.92
1965	63.07	80.61	68.60
1966	74.68	82.07	70.18
1967	74.34	91.59	73.51
1968	75.19	91.00	64.10
1969	71.35	78.79	58.98
1970	88.04	124.44	70.91
1971	98.11	115.11	78.82
1972	93.58	106.69	68.79
1973	93.16	110.68	59.93
1974	88.78	96.07	61.60
1975	87.07	116.43	71.94
1976	86.74	113.78	80.08
1977	76.90	80.77	70.99
1978	63.17	72.77	68.29
1979	57.73	69.30	65.50
1980	62.09	77.09	65.04
1981	59.15	67.85	52.61

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.30 Rate Per 10,000 of Age Cohorts 25-29 years, 30-39 years, 40-49 years and over 50 years of age of Male Non-Maori Prisoners received into Prison, 1945 to 1984.

	25-29y	30-39y	40-49y	> 50y	TOTAL
1945	45.55	36.51	24.13	12.16	29.97
1946	45.16	30.98	23.57	11.68	32.44
1947	55.98	35.72	21.66	12.04	33.40
1948	53.10	31.53	22.91	12.14	31.17
1949	38.39	25.87	20.89	11.67	23.80
1950	45.71	27.05	32.50	2.96	27.23
1951	39.21	26.16	31.21	1.06	24.83
1952	47.95	29.58	37.60	4.09	28.30
1953	46.73	34.88	23.54	16.36	29.23
1954	43.12	34.74	28.22	14.71	30.31
1955	43.92	35.67	25.22	15.57	30.91
1956	53.34	37.63	26.87	15.34	34.72
1957	47.16	39.79	31.05	18.25	36.26
1958	46.95	40.73	29.84	14.88	35.22
1959	42.19	35.20	28.88	13.73	32.68
1960	41.71	35.38	27.41	15.08	33.66
1961	44.76	33.48	24.28	13.67	34.39
1962	48.47	32.65	27.81	15.73	36.05
1963	40.51	32.93	24.20	12.82	33.81
1964	42.64	32.74	25.53	12.88	34.93
1965	40.69	26.80	21.01	10.68	32.19
1966	42.70	29.18	22.62	10.16	34.70
1967	48.81	31.05	24.30	11.14	36.93
1968	38.95	28.79	23.88	10.46	34.50
1969	37.20	23.64	19.12	7.46	30.44
1970	42.32	26.19	20.39	6.90	36.05
1971	44.92	29.76	22.79	8.98	39.87
1972	46.87	30.17	20.91	8.96	38.07
1973	39.91	24.11	15.70	7.73	34.09
1974	34.67	22.27	18.00	7.22	32.74
1975	39.47	21.49	14.81	6.56	33.89
1976	39.93	20.92	15.81	6.12	34.68
1977	35.79	18.24	10.46	4.95	29.53
1978	35.43	20.48	10.78	4.87	27.87
1979	36.13	18.35	10.49	4.00	26.23
1980	36.50	15.56	9.13	4.02	26.17
1981	32.79	15.65	9.92	3.36	23.84

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.31 Probability Distribution of Age Cohorts under 20 years, 20 years and 21-24 years of age of Male Non-Maori Prisoners Received into Prison, 1945 to 1984.

	< 20y	20y	21-24y
1945	.10940	.04926	.17083
1946	.11929	.07306	.22660
1947	.08418	.05416	.23646
1948	.07898	.04449	.23026
1949	.06281	.03035	.19619
1950	.08378	.03710	.21065
1951	.09745	.04713	.18790
1952	.08217	.03242	.15987
1953	.05898	.02327	.16234
1954	.07460	.03391	.15545
1955	.08491	.04143	.14885
1956	.10155	.03734	.15756
1957	.10761	.03933	.14607
1958	.11993	.04453	.13889
1959	.12106	.04852	.15403
1960	.14189	.05440	.15050
1961	.16498	.06291	.16938
1962	.16924	.05207	.17168
1963	.19192	.05261	.18140
1964	.21123	.04628	.18078
1965	.22945	.06466	.19274
1966	.25856	.06097	.18555
1967	.24015	.06483	.18892
1968	.25809	.06985	.18199
1969	.27568	.06943	.19556
1970	.28523	.09371	.20417
1971	.28545	.07929	.21073
1972	.28625	.07531	.19125
1973	.31933	.08538	.18477
1974	.31790	.07556	.19638
1975	.30214	.08666	.22010
1976	.29505	.08110	.23793
1977	.30744	.06996	.24705
1978	.26783	.06899	.25116
1979	.26023	.07201	.25532
1980	.28077	.08272	.25346
1981	.29391	.08226	.22454
1982	.29637	.07841	.23735
1983	.29875	.07995	.23401
1984	.26793	.08395	.25149

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.32 Probability Distribution of Age Cohorts 25-29 years, 30-39 years, 40-49 years and over 50 years of age of Male Non-Maori Prisoners Received into Prison, 1945 to 1984.

	25-29y	30-39y	40-49y	> 50y	TOTAL
1945	.15035	.24568	.15547	.11900	1.00000
1946	.14269	.19521	.14041	.10274	1.00000
1947	.17748	.22145	.12547	.10027	1.00000
1948	.18576	.21190	.14238	.10567	1.00000
1949	.18066	.23006	.17008	.12985	1.00000
1950	.19270	.21245	.23160	.02813	1.00000
1951	.18535	.22739	.24395	.01083	1.00000
1952	.19955	.22750	.26160	.03689	1.00000
1953	.18885	.26190	.16071	.14394	1.00000
1954	.16849	.25352	.18832	.12572	1.00000
1955	.16880	.25729	.16726	.13146	1.00000
1956	.18306	.24362	.16075	.11612	1.00000
1957	.15039	.24849	.17761	.13051	1.00000
1958	.14947	.26367	.17549	.10802	1.00000
1959	.14037	.24729	.18276	.10598	1.00000
1960	.13055	.24297	.16818	.11151	1.00000
1961	.13286	.22657	.14562	.09767	1.00000
1962	.13710	.20342	.15663	.10985	1.00000
1963	.12205	.21128	.14310	.09764	1.00000
1964	.12421	.19660	.14399	.09691	1.00000
1965	.12849	.16896	.12683	.08886	1.00000
1966	.12495	.16522	.12495	.07979	1.00000
1967	.13559	.16243	.12583	.08226	1.00000
1968	.11691	.15846	.13199	.08272	1.00000
1969	.12777	.14503	.11956	.06697	1.00000
1970	.12380	.13338	.10739	.05233	1.00000
1971	.11985	.13480	.10826	.06160	1.00000
1972	.13656	.14531	.10125	.06406	1.00000
1973	.13490	.13149	.08265	.06148	1.00000
1974	.12639	.12813	.09610	.05954	1.00000
1975	.14366	.12092	.07446	.05206	1.00000
1976	.14642	.11644	.07573	.04733	1.00000
1977	.15096	.12150	.05817	.04492	1.00000
1978	.15504	.14729	.06279	.04690	1.00000
1979	.16448	.14280	.06424	.04092	1.00000
1980	.16300	.12347	.05542	.04116	1.00000
1981	.15740	.13873	.06536	.03779	1.00000
1982	.16695	.14207	.05649	.02234	1.00000
1983	.16966	.14392	.05382	.01989	1.00000
1984	.17174	.14830	.05037	.02623	1.00000

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.33 Rate Per 10,000 of Age Cohort of Male Maori Prisoners Received into Prison, 1945 to 1984.

	< 20y	20y	21-24y
1945	113.74	282.02	460.94
1946	116.19	322.70	413.54
1947	116.75	338.15	381.34
1948	67.26	160.97	292.20
1949	67.30	192.00	259.47
1950	62.41	165.24	276.76
1952	78.38	276.39	280.98
1953	106.41	212.12	263.39
1954	93.15	166.75	255.79
1955	125.98	254.06	242.07
1956	160.07	290.09	318.20
1957	196.00	255.10	310.23
1958	234.37	371.42	387.40
1959	219.39	350.30	371.86
1960	234.77	351.38	350.05
1961	318.76	392.29	365.12
1962	336.94	389.75	466.24
1963	334.07	571.02	405.20
1964	356.95	443.46	379.72
1965	358.86	440.64	370.10
1966	430.67	444.30	434.11
1967	429.59	480.83	454.20
1968	494.43	666.23	453.81
1969	544.09	554.47	419.74
1970	641.32	687.70	571.56
1971	861.68	963.36	641.93
1972	777.04	736.18	563.41
1973	648.56	640.76	505.66
1974	592.78	526.23	383.07
1975	554.19	609.43	419.98
1976	599.22	490.97	429.62
1977	550.72	514.60	422.47
1978	506.56	469.48	401.70
1979	535.33	537.56	477.67
1980	525.86	532.25	413.88
1981	546.48	609.09	447.56
1982	633.19	612.12	501.89
1983	687.64	748.48	605.95
1984	623.78	696.97	654.76

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.34 Rate Per 10,000 of Age Cohorts 25-29 years, 30-39 years, 40-49 years and over 50 years of age of Male Maori Prisoners Received into Prison, 1945 to 1984.

	25-29y	30-39y	40-49y	> 50y	TOTAL
1945	278.12	129.33	50.51	20.11	157.73
1946	255.08	110.82	57.23	19.70	149.80
1947	290.71	111.27	61.31	26.56	155.02
1948	223.45	93.37	55.61	18.95	115.12
1949	182.71	110.49	38.14	13.94	108.27
1950	199.63	92.99	58.78	18.25	111.82
1951	203.36	80.70	55.66	33.59	108.99
1952	169.91	129.87	48.18	43.84	126.69
1953	204.39	92.62	66.38	27.91	125.21
1954	163.04	109.13	47.29	31.54	115.30
1955	231.43	118.98	73.18	14.43	136.09
1956	275.51	143.63	64.47	30.31	166.10
1957	220.61	157.35	77.39	50.20	169.30
1958	196.62	154.63	82.94	48.06	186.63
1959	230.03	159.35	103.59	33.68	188.43
1960	234.27	152.21	83.47	49.39	186.07
1961	223.56	139.10	82.07	34.41	195.16
1962	239.79	163.07	103.94	46.09	224.06
1963	238.17	140.68	110.67	52.46	217.95
1964	214.47	153.09	115.55	50.96	213.10
1965	177.85	149.57	100.90	48.10	202.87
1966	225.53	137.20	86.94	26.95	221.57
1967	263.50	157.97	107.05	38.87	241.32
1968	318.34	194.74	106.89	44.87	276.89
1969	243.30	176.10	88.74	31.97	258.31
1970	299.66	190.14	121.48	33.95	316.58
1971	389.85	203.45	111.26	44.81	390.70
1972	307.91	186.89	123.52	44.38	346.68
1973	309.86	172.63	89.84	38.36	305.85
1974	243.65	178.17	115.65	37.28	272.67
1975	249.85	155.40	88.93	22.19	264.91
1976	258.60	141.39	76.85	19.15	267.04
1977	237.33	126.68	61.31	23.78	251.82
1978	222.03	118.57	80.55	26.45	239.63
1979	251.84	125.47	79.13	23.46	264.29
1980	270.72	137.44	58.77	26.09	256.84
1981	282.20	141.25	71.48	17.59	272.88
1982	296.40	149.71	68.11	19.44	300.56
1983	342.80	176.40	69.79	36.10	345.51
1984	402.46	192.67	82.41	24.99	349.63

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.35 Probability Distribution of Age Cohorts under 20 years, 20 years and 21-24 years of age of Male Maori Prisoners Received into Prison, 1945 to 1984.

	< 20y	20y	21-24y
1945	.14878	.05854	.31951
1946	.15960	.07232	.31421
1947	.15457	.07494	.29040
1948	.11963	.04908	.30982
1949	.12698	.06349	.30159
1950	.11377	.05389	.32036
1951	.11976	.03293	.32335
1952	.12060	.08040	.29648
1953	.15881	.06203	.28288
1954	.14474	.05263	.30000
1955	.15904	.06754	.24183
1956	.15881	.06283	.26178
1957	.18678	.05455	.25124
1958	.19855	.07246	.28551
1959	.18056	.06806	.27222
1960	.19210	.06948	.26022
1961	.24433	.07431	.25945
1962	.22954	.06270	.28162
1963	.23835	.09216	.24576
1964	.26498	.07150	.23028
1965	.28433	.07296	.23069
1966	.31710	.06590	.24260
1967	.29362	.06894	.23489
1968	.29755	.08718	.20605
1969	.35435	.08108	.20571
1970	.34386	.08522	.23004
1971	.37753	.10014	.21063
1972	.39126	.08589	.21095
1973	.37662	.08442	.21699
1974	.39213	.07750	.18623
1975	.38260	.09210	.21205
1976	.41554	.07339	.21695
1977	.40805	.08273	.22806
1978	.39724	.08037	.22962
1979	.38321	.08448	.24936
1980	.38986	.08709	.22387
1981	.38367	.09486	.22935
1982	.40360	.08655	.23350
1983	.38129	.09206	.24525
1984	.34180	.08471	.26188

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984.

Table 7.36 Probability Distribution of Age Cohorts 25-29 years, 30-39 years, 40-49 years and over 50 years of age of Male Maori Prisoners Received into Prison, 1945 to 1984.

	25-29y	30-39y	40-49y	> 50y	TOTAL
1945	.21707	.18293	.04878	.01951	1.00000
1946	.21446	.16209	.05736	.01995	1.00000
1947	.24122	.15457	.05855	.02576	1.00000
1948	.25460	.17178	.07055	.02454	1.00000
1949	.22540	.21270	.05079	.01905	1.00000
1950	.24251	.17066	.07485	.02395	1.00000
1951	.25749	.14970	.07186	.04491	1.00000
1952	.18844	.20854	.05528	.05025	1.00000
1953	.23325	.15136	.07940	.03226	1.00000
1954	.20526	.19474	.06316	.03947	1.00000
1955	.25054	.18083	.08497	.01525	1.00000
1956	.24782	.17976	.06283	.02618	1.00000
1957	.19504	.19669	.07273	.04298	1.00000
1958	.15797	.17826	.06957	.03768	1.00000
1959	.18333	.18472	.08472	.02639	1.00000
1960	.18937	.18120	.06812	.03951	1.00000
1961	.17254	.15995	.06297	.02645	1.00000
1962	.16153	.16472	.06908	.03082	1.00000
1963	.16525	.14725	.07521	.03602	1.00000
1964	.15247	.16509	.07992	.03575	1.00000
1965	.13305	.17060	.07296	.03541	1.00000
1966	.15473	.14422	.05731	.01815	1.00000
1967	.16085	.15234	.06553	.02383	1.00000
1968	.16427	.16354	.05764	.02378	1.00000
1969	.13063	.15841	.05180	.01802	1.00000
1970	.12753	.13945	.05840	.01549	1.00000
1971	.13070	.12083	.04372	.01646	1.00000
1972	.11753	.12155	.05424	.01858	1.00000
1973	.13528	.12392	.04437	.01840	1.00000
1974	.12030	.13997	.06362	.02024	1.00000
1975	.12791	.12280	.05003	.01251	1.00000
1976	.13222	.10847	.04263	.01079	1.00000
1977	.12856	.10229	.03633	.01397	1.00000
1978	.12629	.09989	.05052	.01607	1.00000
1979	.12977	.09517	.04529	.01272	1.00000
1980	.14344	.10656	.03484	.01434	1.00000
1981	.14063	.10241	.04011	.00897	1.00000
1982	.13410	.09854	.03470	.00900	1.00000
1983	.13492	.10101	.03094	.01454	1.00000
1984	.15654	.10902	.03610	.00994	1.00000

Source: Justice Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.37 Comparative Numbers of Maori and Non-Maori Male Prisoners Received into Prison, 1945 to 1984.

	MAORI	NON-MAORI	TOTAL	MAORI AS % OF TOTAL	NON-MAORI AS % OF TOTAL
1945	410	1,563	1,973	20.78	79.22
1946	401	1,752	2,153	18.63	81.37
1947	427	1,865	2,292	18.63	81.37
1948	326	1,798	2,124	15.35	84.65
1949	315	1,417	1,732	18.19	81.81
1950	334	1,671	2,005	16.66	83.34
1951	334	1,570	1,904	17.54	82.46
1952	398	1,789	2,187	18.20	81.80
1953	403	1,848	2,251	17.90	82.10
1954	380	1,917	2,297	16.54	83.46
1955	459	1,955	2,414	19.01	80.99
1956	573	2,196	2,769	20.69	79.31
1957	605	2,314	2,919	20.73	79.27
1958	690	2,268	2,958	23.33	76.67
1959	720	2,123	2,843	25.33	74.67
1960	734	2,206	2,940	24.97	75.03
1961	794	2,273	3,067	25.89	74.11
1962	941	2,458	3,399	27.68	72.32
1963	944	2,376	3,320	28.43	71.57
1964	951	2,528	3,479	27.34	72.66
1965	932	2,397	3,329	28.00	72.00
1966	1,047	2,657	3,704	28.27	71.73
1967	1,175	2,869	4,044	29.06	70.94
1968	1,388	2,720	4,108	33.79	66.21
1969	1,332	2,434	3,766	35.37	64.63
1970	1,678	2,924	4,602	36.46	63.54
1971	2,127	3,279	5,406	39.35	60.65
1972	1,991	3,200	5,191	38.35	61.65
1973	1,848	2,928	4,776	38.69	61.31
1974	1,729	2,872	4,601	37.58	62.42
1975	1,759	3,035	4,794	36.69	63.31
1976	1,853	3,169	5,022	36.90	63.10
1977	1,789	2,716	4,505	39.71	60.29
1978	1,742	2,580	4,322	40.31	59.69
1979	1,965	2,444	4,409	44.57	55.43
1980	1,952	2,454	4,406	44.30	55.70
1981	2,119	2,249	4,368	48.51	51.49
1982	2,334	2,372	4,706	49.60	50.40
1983	2,683	2,564	5,247	51.13	48.87
1984	2,715	2,859	5,574	48.71	51.29

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1945 to 1984

Table 7.38 Total Charges Involving Total Males, Maori and Non-Maori Males - Arrested, Charged and Convicted of Serious Violence Offences, 1952 to 1983.

	TOTAL	MAORI	NON-MAORI
1952	513	92	421
1953	630	121	509
1954	628	113	515
1955	651	127	524
1957	595	157	438
1958	605	188	417
1959	635	163	472
1960	739	227	512
1961	1032	240	792
1962	1255	331	924
1963	1383	302	1081
1964	1470	363	1107
1965	2171	617	1554
1966	2525	710	1451
1967	2999	880	2119
1968	3124	963	2161
1969	3360	1077	2283
1970	3745	1346	2399
1971	4221	1643	2578
1972	4340	1774	3065
1973	5345	2309	3754
1974	5856	2150	3706
1975	6794	2429	4365
1976	7374	2528	4846
1977	7570	1706	6003
1978	6700	2403	4297
1979	6672	2602	4070
1980	7423	2823	4600
1981	7522	2925	4597
1982	8011	3215	4796
1983	8050	3343	4707

Source: Department of Justice Statistics 1952 to 1983

Table 7.39 Percentage and Rates Per 10,000 of Total Charges Involving Maori and Non-Maori Males Arrested, Charged and Convicted in Magistrate's or District Court for Serious Violence Offences, 1952 to 1983.

	% MAORI	% NON-MAORI	TOTAL RATE	MAORI RATE	NON-MAORI RATE
1952	17.93	82.07	5.14	14.72	4.50
1953	19.21	80.79	6.15	18.76	5.30
1954	17.99	82.01	5.89	16.88	5.16
1955	19.51	80.49	5.86	18.33	5.03
1957	26.39	73.61	5.23	21.14	4.12
1958	31.07	68.93	5.19	24.43	3.83
1959	25.67	74.33	5.35	20.42	4.27
1960	30.72	69.28	6.12	27.44	4.55
1961	23.26	76.74	8.33	27.52	6.87
1962	26.37	73.63	9.90	36.60	7.85
1963	21.84	78.16	10.69	32.19	9.01
1964	24.69	75.31	11.14	37.37	9.05
1965	28.42	71.58	16.24	60.89	12.58
1966	28.12	57.47	15.89	69.49	11.53
1967	29.34	70.66	21.83	83.99	16.70
1968	30.83	69.17	22.55	89.63	16.91
1969	32.05	67.95	24.00	98.01	17.70
1970	35.94	64.06	26.27	119.83	18.27
1971	38.92	61.08	29.14	142.82	19.33
1972	29.38	70.62	29.39	154.69	22.56
1973	29.77	70.23	35.44	164.87	27.07
1974	36.71	63.29	38.00	173.11	26.16
1975	35.75	64.25	43.43	191.11	30.37
1976	34.28	65.72	46.90	183.45	33.78
1977	20.70	79.30	48.09	140.65	41.86
1978	35.87	64.13	42.60	168.16	30.05
1979	39.00	61.00	42.44	179.82	28.51
1980	38.03	61.97	46.95	193.22	32.06
1981	38.89	61.11	47.64	207.15	31.97
1982	40.13	59.87	50.74	227.69	33.36
1983	41.53	58.47	50.98	236.76	32.74

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1952 to 1983

Table 7.40 Total Charges Involving Total Males, Maori and Non-Maori Males - Arrested, Charged and Convicted of Disorder Offences, 1952 to 1983.

	TOTAL	MAORI	NON-MAORI
1952	6,528	665	5,863
1953	6,255	654	5,601
1954	6,390	639	5,751
1955	9,391	694	8,697
1957	6,235	822	5,413
1958	5,189	668	4,521
1959	4,889	760	4,129
1960	5,448	808	4,640
1961	6,125	875	5,250
1962	7,149	1,058	6,091
1963	7,319	863	6,456
1964	7,547	1,132	6,415
1965	6,997	1,076	5,921
1966	7,534	1,224	5,289
1967	7,795	1,293	6,502
1968	7,747	1,486	6,261
1969	8,029	1,794	6,235
1970	8,960	2,287	6,673
1971	9,313	2,659	6,654
1972	8,340	1,791	6,549
1973	8,813	1,898	6,915
1974	11,802	3,360	8,442
1975	14,671	3,920	10,751
1976	14,799	3,838	10,961
1977	13,112	2,061	11,051
1978	11,276	3,296	7,980
1979	14,176	4,394	9,782
1980	17,134	5,459	11,675
1981	13,790	4,402	9,388
1982	8,515	3,121	5,394
1983	7,432	2,813	4,619

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1952 to 1983

Table 7.41 Percentage and Rates Per 10,000 of Total Charges Involving Maori and Non-Maori Males Arrested, Charged and Convicted in Magistrate's or District Court for Disorder Offences, 1952 to 1983.

	% MAORI	% NON-MAORI	TOTAL RATE	MAORI RATE	NON-MAORI RATE
1952	10.19	89.81	65.45	106.37	62.71
1953	10.46	89.54	61.06	101.38	58.35
1954	10.00	90.00	59.97	95.45	57.59
1955	7.39	92.61	84.51	100.18	83.47
1957	13.18	86.82	54.80	110.67	50.90
1958	12.87	87.13	44.52	86.80	41.53
1959	15.55	84.45	41.22	95.19	37.32
1960	14.83	85.17	45.10	97.68	41.24
1961	14.29	85.71	49.43	100.33	45.57
1962	14.80	85.20	56.41	117.00	51.76
1963	11.79	88.21	56.59	92.00	53.82
1964	15.00	85.00	57.18	116.55	52.46
1965	15.38	84.62	52.34	106.19	47.93
1966	16.25	70.20	48.06	122.25	42.04
1967	16.59	83.41	56.75	123.41	51.25
1968	19.18	80.82	55.92	138.31	48.99
1969	22.34	77.66	57.36	163.26	48.34
1970	25.52	74.48	62.86	203.61	50.82
1971	28.55	71.45	64.30	231.14	49.90
1972	21.47	78.53	56.47	236.14	48.21
1973	21.54	78.46	58.43	248.13	49.87
1974	28.47	71.53	76.58	270.53	59.58
1975	26.72	73.28	93.79	308.42	74.81
1976	25.93	74.07	94.12	278.52	76.40
1977	15.72	84.28	83.30	235.41	77.05
1978	29.23	70.77	71.69	230.65	55.81
1979	31.00	69.00	90.17	303.66	68.53
1980	31.86	68.14	108.37	373.65	91.36
1981	31.92	68.08	87.34	311.76	65.30
1982	36.65	63.35	53.93	221.03	37.52
1983	37.85	62.15	47.07	199.22	32.13

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1952 to 1983

Table 7.42 Total Charges Involving Total Males, Maori and Non-Maori Males - Arrested, Charged and Convicted of Dishonesty Offences, 1952 to 1983.

	TOTAL	MAORI	NON-MAORI
1952	3,968	648	3,320
1953	4,348	772	3,576
1954	3,879	713	3,166
1955	4,446	995	3,451
1957	5,214	1,341	3,873
1958	6,359	1,735	4,624
1959	6,482	2,022	4,460
1960	6,827	2,005	4,822
1961	7,711	1,987	5,724
1962	8,699	2,350	6,349
1963	8,846	2,336	6,510
1964	9,354	2,322	7,032
1965	9,841	2,490	7,351
1966	10,980	2,883	8,097
1967	13,141	3,433	9,708
1968	15,678	4,339	11,339
1969	14,643	4,018	10,625
1970	15,001	4,409	10,592
1971	16,541	5,412	11,129
1972	17,490	6,183	14,980
1973	16,699	6,299	14,330
1974	18,182	5,483	12,699
1975	22,376	6,559	15,817
1976	26,271	8,069	18,202
1977	27,430	6,336	22,899
1978	23,399	7,841	15,558
1979	20,885	6,703	14,182
1980	27,236	9,394	17,842
1981	28,062	10,005	18,057
1982	32,238	12,169	20,069
1983	34,329	12,906	21,423

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1952 to 1983

Table 7.43 Percentage and Rates Per 10,000 of Total Charges Involving Maori and Non-Maori Males Arrested, Charged and Convicted in Magistrate's or District Court for Dishonesty Offences, 1952 to 1983.

	% MAORI	% NON-MAORI	TOTAL RATE	MAORI RATE	NON-MAORI RATE
1952	16.33	83.67	39.78	103.65	35.51
1953	17.76	82.24	42.44	119.68	37.25
1954	18.38	81.62	36.41	106.50	31.71
1955	22.38	77.62	40.01	143.62	33.12
1957	25.72	74.28	45.83	180.55	36.42
1958	27.28	72.72	54.56	225.44	42.48
1959	31.19	68.81	54.65	253.27	40.32
1960	29.37	70.63	56.52	242.38	42.85
1961	25.77	74.23	62.22	227.84	49.69
1962	27.01	72.99	68.64	259.88	53.95
1963	26.41	73.59	68.39	114.39	64.80
1964	24.82	75.18	70.87	239.07	57.51
1965	25.30	74.70	73.62	245.74	59.50
1966	26.26	73.74	35.46	282.17	15.42
1967	26.12	73.88	95.67	327.67	76.51
1968	27.68	72.32	113.17	403.85	88.73
1969	27.44	72.56	104.60	365.65	82.37
1970	29.39	70.61	105.24	392.53	80.66
1971	32.72	67.28	114.20	470.46	83.46
1972	14.35	85.65	118.43	481.26	110.28
1973	14.19	85.81	110.72	485.27	103.24
1974	30.16	69.84	117.98	441.47	89.63
1975	29.31	70.69	143.04	516.05	110.05
1976	30.71	69.29	167.08	585.56	126.88
1977	16.52	83.48	174.27	470.84	159.66
1978	33.51	66.49	148.77	548.71	108.80
1979	32.09	67.91	132.85	463.23	99.36
1980	34.49	65.51	172.26	642.98	124.33
1981	35.65	64.35	177.73	708.57	125.59
1982	37.75	62.25			
1983	37.60	62.40			

Source: Department of Justice Statistics, 1952 to 1983

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS

1. Introduction

This research project arose out of the author's imprisonment in 1979 for six years for offences connected with a legal practice and associated commercial activities. While in prison he studied extramurally through Massey University, and this started a long and painful reflection upon where his life went wrong, and how as part of an under-class he is excluded from participation in the wage relation and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. This reflection has not been limited to personal biographical issues, but has been concerned with trying to understand how the regulatory social forces within New Zealand society have shaped the pattern of social life. It has also been concerned with the issue of how the author, like others in the excluded under-class, might be integrated into the mainstream of social life. In order to understand this issue it has been necessary to understand how under-classes develop, and what is at stake in their incorporation into the mainstream of social life. One conclusion we have reached is that a pre-condition for the incorporation of the under-class is the reconstruction of social life around a moral and normative order which is based upon equating contributions and rewards, in a way which is accepted as just and fair by the mass of society. This could be described as a 'Durkheimian' pursuit but we have been at pains to show that a pre-condition for the reconstruction of social life involves primary regulatory forces which shape secondary moral issues. In this Chapter we will review the reasons why we have reached this conclusion, and also review the probabilities of

reaching this goal of equating contributions and rewards upon a basis which is accepted as fair and just.

2. A Restatement of the Central Problem and Thesis

We began our study of the problem of persistent offending by outlining the history of the relationship between imprisonment and offending from the 1920s to the mid-1980s. In order to understand the nature of the cycle in the 1980s we presented ten vignettes of persons who had been part of the cycle of offending and imprisonment. These vignettes pointed to a number of questions which needed to be answered, although we were not able to draw any conclusions from the vignettes themselves. An explanation for the events described required an analysis of social forces which regulated the lives of people. In particular there were a number of themes which emerged from the vignettes. The first theme was the importance and prominence of illicit drugs. Some of those profiled had been dealers (or producers), while other were users (or consumers), and some were both dealers and users. The second theme which emerged was the intervention of a disruptive event which resulted in exclusion or partial exclusion of the household from participation in waged work and the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The third theme concerned the relative freedom some of those profiled experienced in their leisure and recreation within the neighbourhood, where they were freed from the regulation and control of the established generation. The fourth theme concerned the emphasis upon consumption, involving the main use values of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption, and non-participation in waged work. Access to the use values of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption was obtained through what we have called predatory activities, which we define as a violation of the contribution and reward norms of our society.

The central task of this work has been to explain these four themes. To do this we formulated our thesis that the pattern of offending is the product of the predatory potential of society and the exclusion tendency. The predatory potential expresses a potential inherent in all societies for the violation of the contribution and reward norms of a society. It becomes necessary to define and specify the nature of the predatory potential at any one time, that is, the extent to which it is possible to violate the contribution and reward norms. The predatory potential interacts with the exclusion tendency to produce the offending and imprisonment pattern. The exclusion tendency expresses a tendency which exists in capitalist societies for persons to be excluded from waged work, and the mode of consumption. It arises out of the structural organisation of production and consumption. Production and consumption are linked through two crucial institutional forms, the wage relation and the private and individual household. If either or both of these institutional forms are disrupted, or if persons are excluded from incorporation into either or both, then this disturbs the basis of regulation in a capitalist society.

This thesis developed during the course of the research as means of explaining the patterns which we discovered. The starting point of our theoretical inquiry was a consideration of Durkheim's work which has been influential in the sphere of deviance theory. The first point which emerges out of Durkheim's theory is the notion of a rupture between the institutional order at what we have called the primary and secondary levels of regulation. Many social theories of deviance are a variation on this theme, and we considered one of the most important of these in the work of Merton (1968). Durkheim's theory is important to us because of the emphasis he places upon the regulation of society through the moral and normative order, mediated by institutions

in which individuals are integrated or excluded. One of the important implications of Durkheim's argument is that people will not commit themselves to the moral and normative order if it violates their sense of justice and fairness. The central ingredient of the moral and normative order is the contributions and rewards people make to the needs of society, and we disagree with those who argue that there is no content to the collective conscience (Garland, in Garland and Young, 1983).

There are two levels of regulation in Durkheim's work. These we identify as the primary and secondary levels. The primary level is concerned with regulating the relationship between production and consumption, and in also regulating the relations between capital and labour. The secondary level of regulation is concerned with the moral and normative order which regulates and guides the day-to-day activities of people. The basis of both primary and secondary regulation are moralities of reciprocity, where individuals benefit to the extent that they contribute. This is a universal feature of the organisation of social life as all social interaction oscillates around notions of reciprocity. Our major criticism of Durkheim is that he denies that it is possible to measure or quantify the basis of contributions and rewards. In our judgement Marx's labour theory of value provides the basis for measurement of contributions and rewards, at the primary level of regulation. We accept that there are significant spheres of social interaction where the contributions and rewards are not measurable or quantifiable, the sphere of domestic labour being the most important example here.

A distinction is drawn between those activities which are regulated by reciprocity, and those which, for the sake of simplicity at this stage, we will call regulation by monetary exchange. There has been a clear trend for more and more spheres of activity to be regulated by monetary

exchange and this has important implications for secondary regulation. Durkheim's theory, however, provides no basis for measuring the contributions and rewards of primary regulation, which disqualifies it as a comprehensive theory, although we want to retain the emphasis upon the moral and normative order at the level of secondary regulation.

In order to bridge the gaps in Durkheim's theory we adopted the approach of the French regulation school pioneered by the work of Aglietta (1979), and taken further by Lipietz (1982 and 1987) and Boyer (1988 and 1988a). The regulation approach makes the accumulation of capital the central focus, and has developed a number of concepts to study this process. It is interested in the more or less long-term stability of capitalism and seeks to understand what accounts for this stability. It also seeks to answer the question of what regulates these stable periods, and how we might understand the transition from one regime of accumulation to another. Its concepts are ideal types which can be used to study concrete societies. The central concepts are the regime of accumulation and its mode of regulation. We found this approach useful in studying the transition from a pre-'Fordist' organisation of social life in the 1920s and 1930s.

3. Regulation Theory and its Application to New Zealand

In Chapter Three we outlined our theory of primary regulation which involved defining the concepts which we proposed using. There are a whole range of concepts used by the regulation school, not all of which were relevant to our study. Firstly, the regime of accumulation is concerned with a study of the distribution of the forces of production across different sectors of production, with the manner in which the social product is shared by the major social classes, and with the patterns of

accumulation and consumption. In New Zealand the regime of accumulation is dominated by land-based food and fibre production which was in the 1920s and 1930s limited to agricultural food and fibre production. The forestry fibre industries were limited to timber products at this time, but after 1945 the processing of forest products was expanded to become one of the major sectors of the regime of accumulation. The wage nexus is the second important concept we considered. This involves two elements, firstly, the wage relation and secondly, the mode of consumption. In studying the wage relation we were concerned with studying the production norms, by which we mean the level of mechanisation, the dimension of the labour process which was mechanised, the skill levels required for participation in waged work, and the competency levels which existed in society, and the demand for those competency levels. The production norms establish the conditions for participation in waged work, and define the extent to which persons are being incorporated into or excluded from waged work. The mode of consumption defines the use values which dominate the consumption patterns and also defines the social relations which regulate access to those use values and their actual consumption. We draw a distinction between a limited mode of consumption and a 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The limited mode of consumption refers to the mode of consumption of the 1920s and 1930s where monetary consumption was restricted to food, clothing, housing, basic furniture and fitting and household operations items, and public transport. Recreation and leisure were collective participatory activities, regulated by reciprocity. A 'Fordist' mode of consumption has become diffused across New Zealand society since the 1960s, and its principal use values are home and motor vehicle ownership, mechanised domestic labour and recreation and leisure regulated by monetary exchange.

The crisis in the regime of accumulation in the 1920s and 1930s was associated with the world-wide economic crisis at that time. Agricultural products were facing serious competition in the British market and there were complaints from employers about the low levels of productivity. The whole issue of industrial organisation was debated in the National Industrial Conference in 1928. The employers sought more flexible forms of labour organisation, while the union representatives argued for increased productivity and the broader provision of the socialisation of the hardships of social life. In any event strategies of appropriation were underway in land-based food and fibre production, with the mechanisation of the agricultural labour process. These strategies marginalised large numbers of labouring men who had been an integral part of the labour process when it depended more upon physical labour. The changing nature of the labour process required settled workers who had skills operating and controlling machinery and technology. The itinerant labouring men had neither the skills nor the inclination to settle in the urban areas. Moreover, the employment opportunities did not expand quickly enough to absorb these marginalised persons. These changes were the main source of the under-class which emerged in this period. The other source of the under-class arose out of the intervention of disruptive events which excluded households from participation in waged labour. This is the second way in which the exclusion tendency operates in a capitalist society, and has its origins in the structure of private and individual households linked to the production process through the wage relation.

Two competing moral and normative orders existed at this time, a puritan order and a liberal humanism. The liberal humanism advocated among other things the socialisation of hardships, including unemployment benefits and expanded workers' compensation for injury sustained in the course of work. However, the liberal

humanist position was subordinate to the puritan moral and normative order which had two strains, one which condemned the loafer and the boozer, and the other which enforced a code of conformity. The condemnation of loafers and boozers had a long tradition in New Zealand of being associated with the prohibition movement and the efforts to civilise the wandering itinerant labourers who roamed the country in search of work. By the 1920s these men were literally dying out, and the main target of the puritan order were ordinary working people who were being asked to shoulder the burden of the economic crisis. Puritanism fitted in with this economic dilemma. The condemnation of difference and the enforcement of conformity also had a material basis in the organisation of households which depended upon the contribution of all members to the domestic division of labour, and financial contributions from those who were earning an income. Households depended upon multi-income earners to participate in the limited monetary component of the mode of consumption.

The moral and normative order was mediated by a number of institutional forms which included neighbourhoods, the pub, and chartered, sporting and other recreation clubs. Activities within these institutional forms were reciprocally regulated, and participation was the regulatory mechanism. There was little room for the emergence of what Durkheim called egoism in this situation. The puritan regulatory norms were clearly articulated and the institutional forms incorporated the bulk of the population. These institutional forms were able to regulate and control the activities of all but the most marginal and excluded.

Even though the forces of primary regulation broke down in this period the forces of secondary regulation held quite firm, and even though dishonesty crime rates rose, they reached what now seem like modest levels. The

predatory potential was limited, and illicit recreation and leisure was limited to after-hours hotel trading, sly grogging and bookmaking. The reproduction of these activities did not require an army of 'standover' men or intimidation and violence, which is the basis for the reproduction of the underground economy in the period from the late sixties to at least 1985. The criminal justice system was involved in the regulation of a relatively small group of nuisances rather than criminals, and most persons were sentenced to prison for less than six months. Most serious violence related to cases of domestic violence, the rates for this type of offending being quite low.

The regime of accumulation in the period between 1945 and 1970 underwent a period of expansion and growth. From the early 1970s the regime has again lurched into crisis, and this crisis persists to the present time (1991). The basis of the transition of the regime of accumulation was the accumulation of capital in land-based food and fibre production. In particular this involved the investment in the transformation and transfer technologies in these industries. In Goodman et al's (1987) terms the strategies were those of appropriation and substitution. Appropriation strategies resulted in increased production volumes, which called for increased processing capacity. These strategies resulted in expansion in the construction and metals and machinery sectors, and also laid the basis for the growth in the infra-structure of a modern industrial society. These same productivity gains made possible the expansion of the education, health and other social services, as well as providing the material base for the growth of what has become known as the service sector.

The accumulation of capital in transformation and transfer technologies in the appropriation and substitution strategies of land-based food and fibre

production changed the production norms of New Zealand society. In this period work in the core production process involved the worker interacting with machinery and technology depending upon which dimension of technology dominated. There was a wide variety of production norms, extending from basic control tasks in the flowline chemical process industries, such as paper, dairy production and chemicals to the physical intervention in the transformation phase in the meat freezing industry and the consumer durables sectors. Participation in waged work was relatively easy in this period, and the under-class, based upon exclusion from waged work arising out of the regime of accumulation, largely disappeared. However, a two tiered labour market existed in the core production sectors, with one tier enjoying relatively high wages, secure conditions of employment and strong union representation. The second tier had lower wage rates and less stable conditions of employment. This tier was concentrated in the construction, assembly line fabricated metals production, textiles and clothing, and road transport sectors. In this period, however, households were still excluded from waged work as a result of events such as death and marital breakdown, but the expansion of the welfare system meant that exclusion was not as extreme in this period compared with the 1920s and 1930s.

By the 1960s a mass market for consumer durables had formed, and in this decade articles such as electric ranges, washing machines, refrigerators and television sets became diffused across the whole of New Zealand society. In this period motor vehicle ownership became a general feature of households. Between 1945 and 1961 the trend was for significant growth in wage rates, but wage rate growth slowed during the 1960s and the diffusion of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption was based upon incomes of married women who started moving back into the labour force during this decade. This movement

of women back into the labour force coincided with changes in the production norms, and in the strategies of employers seeking lower paid workers at higher rates of exploitation. The growth of the service sector in this period also offered employment for women in the clerical, retail, education and health sectors. However, the major growth in these sectors did not occur until after 1971.

The changes in the regime of accumulation and in the wage nexus resulted in major changes to the way in which social life was organised in New Zealand. We have described these changes as 'Fordist', or at least the New Zealand variant of Fordism. These changes had major implications for the regulation of consumption, and for secondary regulatory forces. The major change has been the emergence of a fluid and spatially mobile society, where the main basis of regulation shifts from mutual participation regulated by reciprocity to the individual and private use of the means of consumption. Monetary exchange became the main form of regulation governing access to and control over the use values of the mode of consumption. These two changes in the basis of regulation stand at the heart of the emergence of the fluid and spatially mobile society from the 1960s until at least the late 1980s.

The fluid and spatially mobile society based upon the private and individual use of the means of consumption, where access to and control over these use values is regulated by monetary exchange, has weakened the institutional forms which regulated activities in the 1920s and 1930s. These institutional forms and their capacity to enforce the moral and normative order of the time was the basis of the stability of that society, even in the face of a breakdown in primary regulation. During the period between 1945 and 1970 we had stable primary regulation, but a gradual weakening in the forces of secondary regulation. Since the early to mid-1970s the

situation has been complicated by the breakdown in the forces of primary regulation and the re-emergence of an under-class based upon the exclusion from waged work as a result of the crisis in the regime of accumulation. In this crisis the forces of secondary regulation are unable to stabilise society in the way which was possible in the 1920s and 1930s. Indeed the present pattern of secondary regulation is more likely to destabilise society.

In the period since 1970 we have noted a realignment in the distribution of income with the emergence of two polarised consumption groups. One group consisting of roughly one third of all households has the capacity to engage in what we, following Davis (1986), call overconsumption. A second group consisting of more than half of all households have incomes which impede their participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. The lower levels of this second group consist of the under-class with incomes of less than $15,000 per year. The top tier of households are linked to the service class, which has become prominent since the 1970s, and to those engaged in management tasks in land-based food and fibre production. This group articulates a normative order which stresses consumerism, and this normative order has been adopted by the under-class, and probably many others outside the top tier but not necessarily part of the under-class.

This transformed moral and normative order is a shaky and fragile basis for the integration and stability of a society, and it is the crisis at the level of secondary regulation which might form the basis for the re-emergence of neo-conservatism as people struggle for some universal and stable normative order to anchor their lives. There are real problems, however, for the enforcement of a neo-conservative moral and normative

order in a society where the dominant form of regulation is monetary exchange.

The crisis in the regime of accumulation has marginalised many who developed skills and competencies as a result of the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer technologies in land-based food and fibre production, and in associated sectors, and whose skills and competencies are now obsolete. In the manufacturing sector alone between February 1986 and February 1989 in excess of 47,000 full time equivalent jobs were lost. These losses continued a trend, but at a faster rate, that became apparent from 1976 onwards (Enterprise Surveys, 1986, 1987, 1988 and 1989).

4. Crime Patterns

From about 1955 onwards crime rates for dishonesty, serious violence and disorder violence started to increase reversing a trend for falling rates from about 1935. It is also noticeable that from 1955 the age of the offenders was falling, and instead of males over 25 years of age dominating the offending statistics, the offenders, while still males are now under 25 years of age. In this period the exclusion tendency is limited largely to those excluded from participation in waged work, through misfortune. However, the major factor accounting for the increasing crime rates is the loosening in the forces of secondary regulation, caused by growing fluidity and spatial mobility. In these changed conditions it becomes increasingly difficult for the institutional forms regulating social activities to enforce a moral and normative order of restraint. These same changes also loosened generation relations, and freed children and adolescents from the same degree of control and direction of their parents. This is reflected in rising rates of juvenile offending.

In the period between 1955 and 1970 dishonesty offending dominates, with the 'elite' criminals being safe breakers and burglars. In this period it is possible to identify a build-up in the predatory potential, and the Basset Road machine gun case in 1963 is an index of the predatory organisation of recreation and leisure which expanded in the period after 1970. The predatory organisation of recreation and leisure is itself a reflection of the growing affluence of society and the fluid and spatially mobile nature of social life, accompanying the weakening of the forces of secondary regulation.

The increase in crime rates accelerated in the period after 1970. This coincided with the breakdown in primary regulation, and the re-emergence of an under-class as a result of the crisis in the regime of accumulation. This is also associated with an underground economy which has become the institutional form regulating predatory activity within New Zealand society. The pattern of crime in this period is dominated by the activities of the underground economy, and the reproduction of its social relations. The activities of the underground economy focus on the theft and recycling of stolen property, the production, distribution and consumption of drugs, and the protection rackets associated with massage parlours, strip joints and nightclubs. The underground economy is itself dominated by the predatory organisation of recreation and leisure, and a pre-condition for this is a sufficiently large number of persons with the income to purchase these questionable forms of recreation and leisure. The recent revelations in the television programme, the Holmes Show (TV One, Monday 23rd April 1990), indicates that competition among different operators is leading to protection and intimidation activities in Auckland.

Another pre-condition for the operation of the underground economy is the fluid and spatially mobile society we drew attention to above. This has loosened inter-generational relations and created the gaps in the regulation of the emerging generation in their neighbourhood relations. This is the basis of the formal freedom experienced by young persons in the recreation and leisure which we noted was a feature in the lives of the persons profiled in Chapter One.

The nature and the form of the predatory potential and its interaction with the exclusion tendency are both explained in terms of the transition to the 'Fordist' organisation of social life. The 'Fordist' organisation of social life increased the predatory potential by, firstly, increasing the level of wealth. Secondly, Fordism weakened the forces of secondary regulation by the creation of a fluid and spatially mobile society and also altered the content of the dominant normative order. Thirdly, Fordism reduced the impact of exclusion from waged work by socialising hardships, but this socialisation of hardship was not able to compensate for the fluidity and spatial mobility at the level of secondary regulation. Fourthly, since the mid-seventies an under-class has re-emerged as a result of the crisis in the 'Fordist' regime of accumulation. A fifth feature concerns the emphasis upon consumerism in the face of the polarisation of two main consumer groups, one capable of overconsumption, the other denied full participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. This fifth feature is coupled with the fact that New Zealand society now spends more money on recreation and leisure than the combined total of food and clothing. In this situation the dominant normative order stresses consumerism, but many are denied legitimate access to the consumption norms. The underground economy is the institutional form which provides a basis for resolving the contradiction between norms and values and the legitimate institutional

barriers. In this situation it is idle to believe that people will commit themselves to a neo-conservative normative order having the elements of puritanism which dominated the moral and normative order in the 1920s and 1930s. We conclude that the predatory potential and its interaction with the exclusion tendency operate at high levels of intensity, and that the probabilities are that crime rates will continue at much the same rates as at present with the added probability that bizarre acts of violence will increase.

5. An Evaluation of the Regulation Theory Approach

In our judgement the regulation approach has been a powerful theoretical framework in which to analyse the criminal and imprisonment patterns in New Zealand since 1920 to the present. Its advantages are that it makes it possible to understand the importance of the relationship between primary and secondary regulation, and it also allows us to quantify and measure the relationship between production and consumption and make specific the source of a moral and normative order which stresses consumerism and the importance of monetary success in ways which Merton's theory could not. The approach makes no apriori judgements about the causes of crime and requires that these issues be studied in their empirical context. In our judgement the approach makes it possible to consider the likely or probable trajectory of the relationship between offending and imprisonment in the immediate to long term future.

The regulation approach, however, operates at a relatively high level of abstraction, and at this level of abstraction some questions are not easily posed, or do not arise. In this study we have not studied the implications of the state's intervention, the question of the regulation of gender issues, the class struggle or ethnic differences, although we did consider the

relationship between the fluid and mobile conditions upon the regulation of the lives of Maori people.

The neglect of the state is both a strength and a weakness. It is a strength to the extent that it shows clearly that there are social forces which operate in ways in which the state has limited ability to influence, or where it must adopt a reactive relationship. The operation of the criminal justice system is one such case. The state's ability to regulate the activities of the underground economy has not been considered here, but our judgement at this stage is that the state at best can only contain the problem, rather than reduce or resolve, say, the difficulties associated with drug consumption, its production and distribution.

We concede that state intervention has been a crucial part of the change from the extensive to the intensive regime of accumulation in many countries, including New Zealand. For example, in Western Europe Fordism was slow to become established and required the use of the Fascist State in Germany to aid capitalism to defeat workers and introduce 'Fordist' production regimes. The 1939-1945 war allowed the state/capitalism relationship to organise workers in ways which had previously been successfully resisted in many countries including the United States and Great Britain.

The analysis made possible by the regulation approach also questions the ability of the state through the criminal justice system to resocialise persons, and thereby integrate them into the mainstream of society. The regulation approach demonstrates that integration is dependent upon participation in the wage relation at an income which is sufficient to cover the norms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. Integration can only be achieved on this basis if the basis of participation in

waged work is reconstructed. We will consider the prospects of this later in this Chapter.

Even although we have not considered in any systematic way the role of the state, either in our study of the interventions by the state in the regime of accumulation, the wage nexus, or the criminal justice system we believe that the regulation approach is versatile enough to be able to incorporate the intervention by the state. This could be achieved by studying the role of the state as a vital agent in the trajectory of change of the regulatory forces.

The bulk of offenders are males, although there are signs that rates of offending among females are increasing. We have been concerned about the lack of attention paid to specific questions of male offending, and in particular with the issue of whether the dominance of male offending is related to the socialisation of men as men. This is a major gap in our research, and one which we had intended incorporating, but the complexity of the task has proven so great that we were forced to restrict our inquiry to the regulation of economic issues. We believe, however, that the work done here does not exclude the gender issue and provides a platform from which this question could be studied. There is much which is problematic for men in the social relations of gender, and no doubt some of these factors are important in accounting for male as opposed to female crime. We made the decision, however, to concentrate upon the economic regulation of social activities as having the major impact upon offending levels and providing the greatest potential area for integration into the mainstream of social life. One possible fruitful line of study which could develop within a regulation framework is the way in which the exclusion tendency operates in relation to males and females. This would involve a consideration of the way primary and secondary regulative forces impact upon males

and females. It may well be that the lower levels of offending by females are a product of the way in which secondary regulation constrains females more tightly than males. The rising rate of female offending relative to males may indicate an easing of secondary regulative forces upon females, affecting the operation of the exclusion tendency.

The regulation approach has weaknesses in terms of its relationship to the class struggle which we alluded to in Chapter Four. It seems to us that the reconstruction of social life required to realign the relationship between contributions and rewards is something which will only emerge out of class struggle, but it might be a different form of class struggle to the one in which class struggle is presently understood. The fragmented and fluid nature of social life means that the building of class politics in the traditional sense will be difficult. The regulation approach lends itself to appropriation by the state as it responds to the breakdown in primary and secondary regulation, and tries to impose some form of social reconstruction. There seems no reason also why a social movement, if it establishes itself, could not make use of the regulation school's tools of analysis. We believe though that the regulation approach needs to be reconstituted in the way we have done by introducing the moral and normative dimensions which are normally absent from this approach.

We have dealt in a cursory way with the problem of offending among Maori persons, and we do not claim to have studied this question in its full complexity. There has been enough in our analysis to suggest that the approach has considerable potential for a more in-depth study of the problem of the relationship between the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency in relation to Maori society. In particular the search for

a new regime of accumulation among the Maori people is one area where the approach might be useful.

6. The Prospects for the Imprisonment-Offending Cycle

a. The Debate Concerning the Nature of the Emerging Regime of Accumulation

This leads us to the question of the prospects for the imprisonment-offending cycle. This depends upon the way in which the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency interact in the future. The interaction of these two mechanisms is in turn dependent upon the way in which the regime of accumulation affects the wage nexus. The nature of the emerging regime of accumulation in New Zealand is far from clear. The debates are useful in identifying issues and problems, but the debates have been conducted without New Zealand specifically in mind, and we have discovered that Fordism in New Zealand has its own specificity. The way things are changing in other societies are not necessarily the way things will develop in New Zealand. The debates about the emerging regime of accumulation recognise two possible regimes, which are called the neo-'Fordist' regime and the flexible regime, or a combination of the two. Fordism involved the mechanisation of the transformation and transfer dimensions of the labour process, and neo-Fordism involves the mechanisation of the control dimension. In this regime accumulation strategies would focus on the investment of technologies aimed at the control dimension of the labour process, and thereby increasing productivity levels, forming the basis of a virtuous circle of growth. On the other hand a flexible regime of accumulation includes the neo-'Fordist' aspect, but also includes notions of the flexible organisation of the labour process. The term flexibility is a slippery one

and can mean many different things. Quite often it simply refers to the reorganisation of the labour process in ways which increase the degree of exploitation of labour, for example, labour market deregulation. This form of flexibility is what Boyer (1988) calls defensive flexibility, involving the reversion to regressive labour organisation.

There is insufficient data, and the theoretical debates are not developed enough for us to be able to say one way or another how the regime of accumulation is developing. However, it is possible for us to speculate about probable scenarios about the future trajectory of the regime of accumulation, and its implications for the wage nexus and the pattern of crime.

b. Scenarios of the Emerging Regime of Accumulation

We will consider the various scenarios by dividing the regime of accumulation into three sub-regimes: the global, the monopolist and the competitive sub-regimes. We outline what we mean by these concepts which are elements of the regime of accumulation.

Scenario 1: The Global Sub-Regime

The first scenario concerns the section of the regime of accumulation embedded in the global economy. There are two ways in which the overall regime of accumulation is linked to the global economy, although no sector operates entirely within the global economy.

The first link is with land-based food and fibre production - wool, meat, dairy produce, forestry, grain products, horticulture and so on. These industries are all part of agro-commodity chains which are currently undergoing restructuring (the meat freezing industry being an important case in point). The restructuring

changes are an offensive strategy involving re-tooling and modification of the labour process and have important implications for employment.

The industries servicing the land-based industries, such as energy production, metals, machinery, construction and transport are also undergoing offensive restructuring. These restructuring moves will also affect the employment levels and integration into the wage relation.

The second link is with the manufacturing sector. The extent to which the manufacturing sector, apart from the international food complex, is linked to the global economy is unclear. The 1984 Manufacturing census, and the Enterprise Surveys conducted since this time all suggest that most sectors of manufacturing depend largely upon the New Zealand market, and that involvement in the global market is a relatively small segment of their activities. We will consider more fully the likely scenarios of the manufacturing sectors when we deal with the monopoly sub-regime.

A variant of this scenario is that the sectors within the global sub-group are adopting defensive strategies, reverting to older methods of labour organisation, leading to flexible part-time casual work strategies. The proliferation of smaller activity units may mean a new sub-contracting relationship between major firms and these smaller activity units. The increase in small activity units may mean a defensive strategy by those who have lost employment as a result of the restructuring of the larger units. This could signify either regressive labour market practices if it is solely a defensive strategy, or the emergence of plant flexibility geared to more flexible market conditions. However, plant flexibility is limited to only some sectors of production such as textiles, clothing and light engineering.

Scenario 2: The Monopolist Sub-Regime

The sub-regime trading in the New Zealand market, and hitherto regulated by monopoly forms of regulation is about to face, or is now facing, international competition within the New Zealand market, and is undergoing an offensive rationalisation in order to meet that challenge. The proliferation of smaller activity units in the context of the domestic market may signify that the larger units have reduced their size and will depend upon sub-contracting to the smaller units. In this way the larger units are able to adjust to changing demand by throwing the burden onto the smaller sub-contractors. In this situation the smaller units will face precarious conditions as demand ebbs and flows.

The alternative is that the monopoly sub-group has adopted regressive and defensive strategies relying more upon labour market flexibility, and thereby shifting the burden of change onto the working class and the discarded workers who have set up in business, rather than adopting offensive strategies. The growth of small activity units is itself a defensive strategy, and indicates the existence of sub-contracting relations between the small and large units. The small activity units will form part of a second tier of employment. If the strategy does involve limited re-tooling and is relying upon the reorganisation of the labour process, then it is likely that those sectors and firms relying solely upon this strategy will face trying trading conditions which will compromise their long term survival. In other words it would seem that some form of offensive rationalisation will be forced upon the monopoly sector if it wishes to remain a producer.

Scenario 3: The Competitive Sub-Regime

The third scenario concerns the sub-regime trading in local areas rather than serving the New Zealand-wide market. This sector is concentrated in the construction, servicing (such as retailing and personal services) and transport sectors. This sub-regime has never been fully integrated into the intensive regime of accumulation, and some forms of competitive regulation have persisted. The fate of this sub-regime depends upon the strength of regional economies. In some areas hit hardest by the restructuring in land-based food and fibre production, the competitive sub-regime has been, and will continue to be subjected to precarious conditions. The chances for this sub-regime depend upon how the restructuring of the other sectors stimulates economic activity.

The distribution of household incomes shows that the top one third of households have the capacity for overconsumption (Davis, 1986). This grouping of households has the capacity to move beyond mass consumption and can insist upon individual taste and discrimination in their consumption habits and practices. The emergence of this consumption group provides opportunities for small scale production of which the competitive sub-regime might be able to take advantage.

The concentration of the bulk of households in levels 1 and 2 of the wages/consumption relation means that the 'Fordist' relation of mass production and consumption is threatened, unless the cost of labour power can be substantially reduced. This is dependent upon the extent to which offensive strategies of rationalisation and industrialisation increase productivity and to the extent that these gains are shared by social classes. The importing of goods produced by global capital might also contribute to a lowering of the value of labour

power. The emergence of part-time and casual work will affect the capacity of women to prepare food within an household offering opportunities for fast food production. Davis (1986) shows how this sector has expanded in the United States where MacDonalds now employs more persons than does the entire steel industry. This trend is likely to exacerbate the move to casual and part-time work.

c. Which Scenario is the Most Probable?

The first two scenarios involve either offensive or defensive strategies relating to the labour process. We have no reliable data concerning the type of technology which has been the subject of investment strategies in plant and machinery in either the global or the monopoly sub-regimes. On the basis of our earlier arguments it would seem that if productivity is to be increased then this would involve investment in control technology. The clerical and accounting tasks have been taken over by computer operations, which has probably slowed employment growth in these occupations. There are also indications of the introduction of computer control functions and computer aided design techniques, all of which have made inroads on the 'Fordist' labour process. If this in fact is the case then the probabilities are that this will not stimulate growth in employment within the productive core of the economy. Instead the likelihood is for a further widening of the mental/manual division of the labour process and continued segmentation of the labour market.

Indeed the continued segmentation of the labour market seems the most likely outcome of all the scenarios we have mentioned, whether the strategies are offensive or defensive. The growth in part-time and casual work seems to be consistent with this probability. We can see no evidence which would suggest the possibility of a sustained period of productivity growth which would

provide the motive force for a new mode of development. The long wave theorists point to the fact that all periods of expansion of capitalism have involved the accumulation of capital in some sphere which has provided the essential stimulus to growth. Quite often the accumulation of capital has involved some new and innovative technology which has provided the basis for growth. Even if we assume a neo-'Fordist' period of capital accumulation it is unlikely that investment in computer technology will provide the spurt to the regime of accumulation which will reincorporate the under-class, a group which is likely to remain a feature of New Zealand society for some time to come. The implications of this conclusion are that the mass production consumption society which emerged in the last fifty years is likely to come under increasing pressure (Freeman et al, 1982; Mandel, 1980; and Marshall, 1987).

The possible course of development is one where firms faced with increasing economic instability and growing uncertainty, will react by limiting the hiring of workers to the vital and permanent tasks, and will fill other vacancies with workers under a host of different terms and conditions of employment. These 'permanent' workers are those associated with the households in Levels 3 and 4 of the wage/consumption relation. As we have pointed out part-time and casual work have been on the increase for some time now. The result under this development would be a multi-tiered work-force and a variety of forms of regulation.

The implications of this development contain a number of possibilities for the second tier of the labour force. One stems from the polarisation of two consumption groups. Perhaps the households in the overconsumption group of the wages/consumption relation could be the pole around which this modest growth occurs. However, even given this form of development it is likely that the

growth will be stimulated largely in the service area where jobs are in the second tier offering little if any security, with low wages and menial conditions. The second possible development is that this fragmentation of the regime of accumulation is associated with stagnation and the slide into further disruptive and uncertain conditions of existence. It must be admitted that the risks of this second possible development occurring are high, and the chances are much higher given the reluctance of the state to intervene to guide the trajectory of the regime of accumulation.

A possible third alternative, some signs of which are evident, involves the return to a form of economic activity based on subsistence and regulated by reciprocity. This form of development is similar to the responses of the marginalised and dispossessed of the third world, particularly Latin America (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988). The evidence and data available on this issue in New Zealand is anecdotal in nature and does not provide any reliable base upon which we might forecast its likely development. It is likely that many Maori people will be attracted to this form of development as they struggle to maintain some form of ties with the market and monetary regulation in the reproduction of their lives. If the scenarios which have been sketched above have any validity then we can expect that the Maori people might be the group most likely to find this alternative an attractive one. The notion of reciprocity is ideologically close to many aspects of the cultural and ideological aspirations of many Maori (Jackson, 1988). An important question here is the likely outcome of the land claims being dealt with by the Waitangi Tribunal. It seems clear, according to Friedmann and Salguero in dealing with the Latin American experience, that the development of reciprocally regulated economic activity has a fragile relationship to market and monetary regulated activities. At best these reciprocal

forms of activity are precarious, and do not offer a form of consumption which is anything like the 'Fordist' mode of consumption (Friedmann and Salguero, 1988). It seems to us that the level and degree of crisis will have to reach an intense and dangerous level before many persons would find this alternative either materially or ideologically attractive. It seems to us that the 'Fordist' mode of consumption will set the tone or pattern of what is the norm for consumption, and around which the bulk of people will order their lives and develop their plans and goals.

We conclude therefore that the most likely scenario for the future is one where there will be further fragmentation and segmentation of the labour market, leading to a polarisation of the distribution of incomes in terms of the wages/consumption relation. To the extent that there will be labour market growth it will be highest in the second tier, and will offer employment at low wages for menial work. At the other pole there will be a demand for those with mental skills in general and computer skills associated with the mechanisation of control technology. Stable and secure employment will be limited to the essential core of workers who are currently linked to the top one-third households in levels 3 and 4 of the wages/consumption relation. The numbers unemployed are likely to remain at or near the rates currently being experienced, which means that the demands upon surplus value to provide the social wage will continue to be substantial. However, this level of support does not allow participation in the 'Fordist' mode of consumption.

It is impossible to specify how intensive the pressures will be upon the second tier, but it must be conceded that the risks of a slide into further stagnation and further disruption are high. There is also the possibility that there will be some easing in the

tensions as the conditions in the labour market ease at times when demand expands and firms take on more staff.

7. The Future of the Predatory Potential and the Exclusion Tendency

On the basis of this scenario we are bound to conclude that the exclusionary tendency will operate at an intense level, at something close to, or perhaps more intense than at present. Together with this we see no easing in the predatory potential of New Zealand society. The overall level of social wealth will continue at high levels, and there will be significant pockets of overconsumption. The problem is that the polarisation in incomes means that there will be bimodal distribution of incomes resulting in affluence at one end and relative impoverishment at the other, in terms of the 'Fordist' mode of consumption. Durkheim's point is that in these conditions it is unlikely that individuals will commit themselves to a moral and normative order which demands restraint and austerity, as many right wing neo-conservatives insist is necessary. We can understand that the fluid and ephemeral nature of social life leads to instability and uncertainty and that people want some continuity and universal values which can anchor their lives. The pre-conditions for this are a reciprocal relationship between contributions and rewards, and the appropriate social institutions to mediate the morality of reciprocity. At the present time both of these pre-conditions are absent.

There seems no effective way in which the fluid and spatially mobile conditions of social life can be regulated in these polarised conditions. The move to reciprocal forms of regulating economic and social life offers some prospects for regulating the social activities of those participating. However, the

tensions between this form of regulation and the market and monetary form of regulation, means that reciprocal forms of regulation offer little prospects of more stable forms of regulation for more than the few who are committed materially and ideologically to this form of social life. It seems to us that the market form of regulation destroys reciprocal forms of regulation and instead creates a fluid and spatially mobile society. This form of social organisation also has the potential to increase the range of activities and options available to people as to how they live their lives. For this reason it has irresistible attractions for many people. As we have seen from the analysis of the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency, when there is a major disjuncture between the contribution and reward norms of social organisation, as there is at the present time, then the interaction of the predatory potential and the exclusion tendency reaches an extreme form. It seems to us that the most probable scenario for New Zealand is that predatory activities will continue at much the same level as at present, or possibly increase. We have no confidence that the criminal justice system can do any more than contain the problem.

We do not regard as credible a return to a reciprocal form of social regulation based upon subsistence in the New Zealand context. The flood gates of human aspirations have been opened and they cannot be closed except by brutal repression, oppression and extreme austerity. However, capitalism requires a relative degree of freedom for the market to operate and it is difficult to see how capital accumulation could operate in conditions of repression and oppression. It is necessary to develop a regime of accumulation which involves a return to increasing levels of productivity, and a way has to be found in which the gains and fruits of the increased productivity are shared fairly between the different social classes, between consumption and

accumulation, and between work and leisure and recreation. One of the first steps involves the creation of the social institutions in which a moral and normative order based upon a just and equitable relationship between contributions and rewards is a central focus. This is a daunting but honourable project.

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